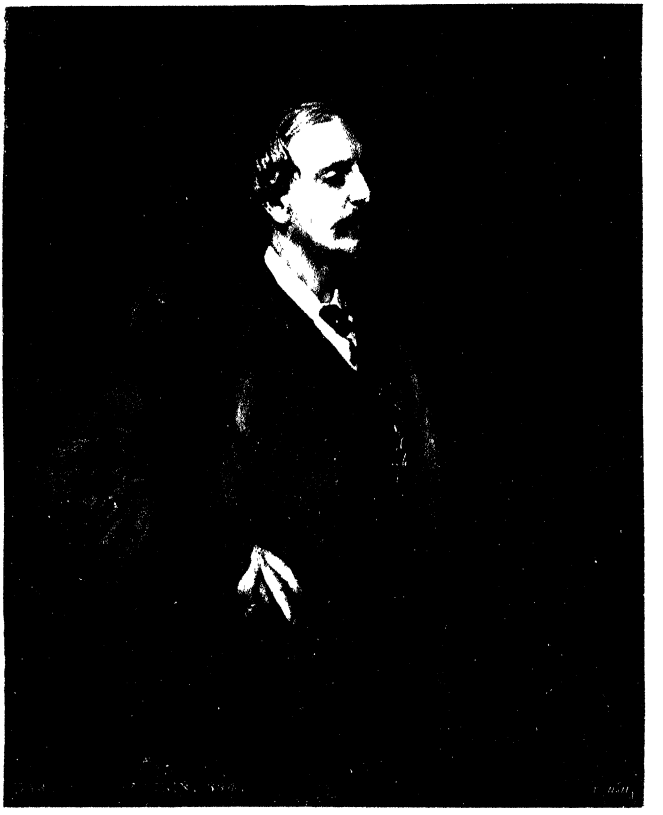
THE LIFE OF THE MARQUIS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA



The Earl of Dufferin 1884

THE LIFE OF THE MARQUIS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA

BY SIR ALFRED LYALL, P.C.

WITH PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES

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PREFACE.

THE original materials for this biography have been supplied to me, almost entirely, by Harriot Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, at whose request I ventured to undertake it; on the understanding that the whole responsibility for the work would be assumed by the writer. In the arrangement and examination of her late husband's papers and correspondence, which Lady Dufferin placed unreservedly at my disposal, I have received from her the most kindly and valuable assistance throughout. I am also indebted to her for advice on various points, and for additional information whenever it was required.

Mr. William Campbell, who was at one time Lord Dufferin's private secretary, has rendered me important aid in sifting and selecting from the very large collection of papers at Clandeboye; and Mr. J. L. Pattisson, who had been long connected with the management of Lord Dufferin's property, has been good enough to let me consult him occasionally. I desire to render to them my full acknowledgment of the help that has thus been given to me.

The volumes of Lord Dufferin's Journal, which he kept up (though not continuously) for many years, have been of much service to me in tracing the incidents of his daily life and occupations. The

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THE LIFE OF THE MARQUIS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA

CHAPTER I.

FAMILY HISTORY.

In an unfinished memoir, which contains no personal recollections later than the time of his boyhood, Lord Dufferin has put together all that he had collected by diligent research regarding the original stem and branches of his family. The earliest record of the Blackwoods he discovered in a deed witnessed by John de Blackwode at Morpeth in 1386; and the name occurs frequently in the subsequent registers of towns and parishes, mostly in the southern counties of Scotland, during the two following centuries. Whether the Blackwoods there mentioned came all from the same stock is not ascertainable; but it seems certain that from the fifteenth century one family of them held lands and had become entitled to bear arms in Fife, while others had been burgesses and civic dignitaries in Dunfermline, Perth, and elsewhere. We know, at any rate, that from the Fife lairds came Adam Blackwood, the first of his name who made a reputation in the world as a leading figure among

those enterprising Scotsmen for whom in the sixteenth century their native country was too narrow, and who crossed the sea to try their fortune in France, where many of them found, then and thereafter, employment and an honourable career.

Adam Blackwood's father had been killed at the battle of Pinkie Cleuch in 1547, and his mother died—of grief, it is said—soon afterwards. He seems to have been taken under the protection of his great-uncle, the Bishop of Orkney; he was educated at Paris, and it was probably through the influence of Cardinal Beaton, who was his friend, that Mary Stuart, then Queen of France, placed him in charge of her domains in Poitou, where he founded a family among the provincial noblesse, of which the last female descendant, Scholastique Gaillard de Blackwood, died so recently as in 1837. A catalogue of Adam Blackwood's writings, in prose and poetry, is given at the end of an article upon him in the *Biographie Universelle.* He died in 1613.

It is a received tradition in Lord Dufferin's family, supported by the discovery that, with a slight difference, their armorial bearings are identical with those of the Poitou branch, that John Blackwood of Bangor, who is the direct ancestor of the Irish line, was nearly related by kinship to Adam. The date of John Blackwood's birth in Scotland (1591) is recorded on his tombstone in Bangor churchyard; for he made Ireland, instead of France, his field of adventure; and he must have been one of the numerous Scottish immigrants who came over during the reign of James I. to Ulster, where he made money, probably by trading, andbought a property. His will shows that he had acquired lands, which he devised to his heirs; and his epitaph in Bangor

church describes him as Merchant and Provost of Bangor—

> ". . . a man who lived of late
> Into a flourishing estate,
> A sober, just and ephald * man ;
> And though his life was but a span,
> Yet it so blameless was that he
> Deserves a lasting memory."

On his death in 1663 the property passed to his son, who made substantial additions by purchase; while under the third John Blackwood, who married a Hamilton, the estate was again considerably enlarged. His son and successor, Robert Blackwood, was created a baronet in 1763, and lies buried in the grounds of Clandeboye; he left eighteen children, one of whom, a daughter, died, aged 93, in 1833, some years after Lord Dufferin, the subject of this memoir, was born. Sir Robert's eldest son, Sir John, married the granddaughter of James Hamilton, heir general of the Earls of Clanbrassil, Viscounts Clandeboye, who brought into the family possessions one half of the castle and town of Killyleagh, together with the park, and an estate in the barony of Dufferin. He was returned in 1761 to the Irish Parliament for the borough of Killyleagh, which was thereafter continuously represented by the Blackwoods up to the Union in 1801 ; and the story has been handed down that Sir John was just starting to vote against the Union in Dublin, when he died suddenly in the act of pulling on his boots for the journey. At any rate, he was proof against the overtures made by the Government for the purchase of his support by a peerage. "Your crest," said an emissary from the Castle, who was examining the plate on his dinner-table, "is a

* Ephald, or Effauld = afold, or anefold = Honest, without duplicity. Northern dialect. (*Cf.* Simplex = *sine plicâ.*)

very pretty one, but would be improved by a coronet." "The motto," replied Sir John, "'Per vias rectas,' has escaped your notice." During the rebellion of 1798 there was a rising in County Down, which was joined by a few of the Blackwood tenantry, and some of the rebels visited Clandeboye * House. Sir John had gone to Belfast, and a few days later the insurrection was crushed in this part of the country by the battle of Ballynahinch. Lord Dufferin has noted in his memoir some local particulars that he learnt from an old man who had been an eye-witness of what occurred in the neighbourhood, and could tell of the flogging and hanging that followed the suppression of the revolt.

"After the battle a court-martial was established in Newtownards. Six of the leaders were sentenced to death—the Rev. Mr. Warwick, Mr. Culvert of Grey Abbey, McKnight and Delop of Bangor, the Rev. Mr. Porter of Grey Abbey, and Mr. Wilson of Conlig. Wilson was hanged on Conlig Hill, not, I think, on the spot where the Tower now stands, but where the Little Clandeboye plantation now is."

Sir John had seven sons and four daughters. One daughter married Mr. Dallas, subsequently Sir George Dallas, who, after serving in the Indian Army, retired to become an active supporter at home of Warren Hastings, whose leading counsel at the famous trial was Robert Dallas, brother to George. It was to the memory of Sir Peter Parker, Sir George's grandson, killed in action at the storming of the American camp near Baltimore in 1814, that Byron, his first cousin, wrote the elegiac stanzas beginning—

"There is a tear for all that die."

* At that time the house was known as Ballyleidy; and this name continued until Frederick Lord Dufferin changed it to Clandeboye. But it is named Clandeboye throughout this biography. See Appendix to this chapter.

Of Robert Blackwood, Sir John's eldest son, Lord Dufferin relates that he lost his life by an accident precisely similar to that by which James III. of Scotland came to his death in his flight after the battle of Sauchie Burn. As Robert was riding through Comber, a woman flung a pail of water into a pool before her door, when the horse shied violently and threw his rider, who was killed on the spot. James, the second son, to whom the inheritance thereby passed, had served in the army, had acted as aide-de-camp to General Needham during the rebellion of 1798, had raised a corps of volunteer cavalry, and commanded a regiment of the county militia—a choleric yet kind-hearted gentleman, with a reputation for courage and humanity. One story of him relates how, when he was parading some mounted troops on service against the insurgents, a disaffected soldier in the ranks aimed a pistol at him. He wrested it from the man's hand, but withdrew the charge, and made over an unloaded pistol to the authorities, in order that the intention of firing it should not be in evidence, whereby the offender was saved from a capital sentence on trial. In 1800 a peerage was offered to him as an honourable and consistent supporter of the Union; but he hesitated about accepting it, so the honour was eventually conferred on his mother, the heir general (as has been said) of the first Viscount Clandeboye. When he succeeded, as Lord Dufferin, to the title in 1808, he was elected a representative peer of Ireland, and voted in the English Parliament with the Tories until his death in 1836. He left a reputation of much intelligence and liberality; he built schools on the estate, constructed a pier for the town of Killyleagh, and endeavoured to establish the manufacture of

linen. His wife, who was daughter of the last Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, died, aged 95, about the year 1865.

To James Lord Dufferin succeeded his brother Hans, who died after holding the title three years. It is recorded of him that he had a magnificent capacity for carrying deep potations without exhibiting the slightest discomposure of mind or body; nor indeed did they affect his health, since he begat eight children and lived for eighty-one years, the patriarch of a hard-drinking generation. Another brother, John, appears to have taken the course, not uncommon among younger scions of the landed gentry, of entering the Church without any overpowering vocation for Holy Orders—an eccentric, humorous man, who, after losing his first wife in 1803, married again "in June of the same year;" of whom it is also related that he called upon Lord Melbourne with a request for a bishopric, but failed to satisfy that not very straitlaced minister touching certain rumours that were inconsistent with the sanctity of episcopal office. But the fourth brother, Henry, became a distinguished naval officer, the type and model of those intrepid and consummate seamen who commanded our warships in Nelson's day—one whose services are commemorated in the naval histories, and whose daring exploits more than once won him special praise from the great admiral.

"Several particulars" (Lord Dufferin writes) "of him are related in a pamphlet or little book called 'Seadrift,' by Admiral Robinson, who went to sea as a Midshipman with him. Robinson was Mid of the boat which carried him with a flag of truce into Cadiz just before the battle of Trafalgar, and amongst other things he says, 'How well I remember, as

I followed Blackwood to the Governor's, how the slovenly swarthy Spaniards appeared to admire the beauty of his person and his faultless costume. He was rather short, but of extraordinary strength and finely made, well set up, a fresh complexion, and small hands and feet. His dress was a gold-laced cocked hat, gold-laced coat and epaulettes, white trousers and Hessian boots, a light crooked sabre, and a great shirt-frill which was at that time the fashion.'"

In the memoir with which Lord Dufferin has prefaced his published collection of Helen Lady Dufferin's poems, he relates the story, well known in naval annals, of Captain (afterwards Sir Henry) Blackwood's engagement, in the *Penelope*, 36-gun frigate, with a French line-of-battle ship, the *Guillaume Tell*, which carried 80 guns. The *Guillaume Tell* had slipped out of Malta, then blockaded by the English fleet; and the *Penelope* started in hot pursuit. She followed the French ship all night, keeping close astern and raking her, without once giving the man-of-war a chance of delivering the broadside that would probably have sunk the frigate by a single discharge. On these tactics Sir Henry handled his ship with such consummate seamanship that by daylight the *Guillaume Tell* lay crippled with broken masts, until the arrival of superior English forces compelled the French admiral to surrender.

Sir Henry Blackwood commanded the frigate squadron when the English fleet was lying off Trafalgar; and with his light ships he watched the combined fleets of France and Spain in Cadiz harbour, while Nelson kept his men-of-war out of sight in order to draw the enemy from their anchorage. How he performed this duty may be gathered from another passage in Admiral Robinson's book.

"This great battle" (we read) "was brought on by

the exertions and watchfulness of Sir Henry Blackwood, who was singularly unboastful, and I do not think there was a man in the fleet who said less about his doings than himself. Nor in praising Blackwood could any jealousy be produced."

The log of the *Euryalus*, Sir Henry Blackwood's ship, has been printed by the Navy Records Society, as containing "a complete history of the battle of Trafalgar, and of the events which preceded and followed the action. The *Euryalus* was more than other ships in a position to see the varied incidents of the fight, and the movements of particular vessels." * On the evening before the battle, Lord Nelson had telegraphed to Blackwood that he firmly relied on his keeping sight of the enemy during the night. Blackwood transmitted to Nelson the first intimation that the enemy's fleet was putting to sea, and early on the morning of October 21 he was summoned on board

* This is how the opening scene was described, minute by minute, from the deck of the *Euryalus*. The bare facts stir up in the imagination a vivid picture by the artistic force of simplicity and precision.

"Light winds and hazy. At 12.15 the British fleet bearing down on the enemy, Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson leading the weather line in the *Victory*, and Vice-Admiral Collingwood on the lee line. At 12.15 the enemy opened a heavy fire on the *Royal Collingwood*. At 12.16 the English admirals hoisted their respective flags, and the British fleet the white British ensign. At 12.17 Admiral Collingwood returned their fire in a brave and steady manner. At 12.20 we repeated Lord Nelson's signal for the British fleet to engage close, which was answered by the whole fleet. At 12.21 the van and centre of the enemy's line opened a heavy fire upon the *Victory* and the ships she was leading on. At 12.22 Admiral Collingwood and the headmost ships of his line broke through the rear of the enemy, where the action commenced in a most severe and determined manner. At 12.24 Lord Nelson and the foremost of the line he led into action broke into the van and centre of the enemy's line, and commenced the action in that quarter. . . . At 3 Captain Blackwood was hailed by Admiral Collingwood, and ordered to go on board the *Santa Anna*, Spanish three-deck ship, and bring him the admiral, which Captain Blackwood obeyed.

the *Victory* to receive the admiral's instructions. After the battle Villeneuve was put on board the *Euryalus*. Writing to his wife on Friday, October 25, 1805, Sir Henry says—

"The French Commander-in-chief is at this moment at my elbow: he was brought hither yesterday from one of our ships, and I hope and believe from what transpired last night that I shall carry him and the two other captive admirals to England."

It was the *Euryalus* that brought home Lord Nelson's body to England.

Robert, another son of Hans Lord Dufferin, served in the army during the Peninsular war, but was invalided home for a severe wound received at the storming of Badajoz, where he lay for hours among the dead and dying. He had sent in his papers for retirement, when on the news of Napoleon's return from Elba he set off instantly to rejoin his regiment, arrived on the field of Waterloo early in the morning of June 18, and was killed by one of the first cannon-balls that began the battle.

William, one of the younger sons, took Orders and held two livings, a man of strong sense and decisive temper, very fond of horses, and greatly respected by his parishioners. It appears that, like his uncle John, he may have had some aspirations toward a bishopric, and that after some years in the Church he relinquished his benefice, the path of clerical duty being evidently not the right road to glory for the Blackwoods.

Another junior brother, Henry, first a cavalry officer, and latterly a Queen's messenger, who travelled to all the European capitals, was killed by the fall of his horse over a rope stretched across a track on Newmarket heath.

The two elder sons of Hans Lord Dufferin had died before their father; so Price Blackwood, his third son, became heir to the baronage. Like so many of his family, he had joined the navy; and in the miniature portrait of him at Clandeboye he carries a sword given to him by the Imam of Muscat, probably in acknowledgment of some exploit on the shores of the Persian Gulf, for he bore the marks of some injury to his eye, received in leading an attack against a fort in those waters. His son, Lord Dufferin, remembered him as prematurely grey-haired, with a thin face, short in stature but very strongly made; and Mrs. Ward, his half-sister, wrote long afterwards that he was a "thorough sailor, frank and open, the soul of honour, with the kindest heart I ever knew, no knowledge of the world or literary cleverness, having gone to sea very young, and having been constantly employed out of England, so that he had very little education." This is the description of Price Blackwood in 1825, when he had returned to England with the inheritance in prospect, and was passing a season in London at the house of his parents, who wished him to go into society on the understanding that he should marry a sensible girl, with a well-regulated mind, good connections, and some money. What he did was to fall deeply in love with Miss Helen Sheridan, seventeen years of age, abundantly beautiful and clever, but in matter of worldly goods very scantily endowed, and to marry her on an annual income of £500; to the resentful disappointment of his father and mother, whose opposition to the engagement had been very plainly signified to him.

It is hardly necessary to explain that this brief account of Lord Dufferin's predecessors and their

kinsfolk has not been sketched in merely to serve as an introductory chronicle. One chief interest in such genealogical details, for a biography, is derived, I think, from the clue that may be found in them for tracing the transmission of hereditary character, or the influence of descent. At the beginning of his unfinished memoir Lord Dufferin states this to have been his principal object in writing it—

"I have observed both in myself and in my children, as well as in various other members of my family, mental characteristics, physical likenesses, intonations of the voice, and habits, which have reproduced in a startling manner what I had observed in previous generations of the family. The extraordinary distinction which has marked the Sheridan family during a period of two hundred years is an illustration of what I mean; and the peculiar turn of my mother's wit was essentially akin to that of her grandfather. . . . If, then, not only our bodies but our souls are emanations from a multiform past, it becomes interesting to know something of those predecessors who have infused a portion of their natures, talents, weaknesses, tastes and predilections into our nature, and who thus live again in us, and, in combination with what we contribute, prolong their influence into the beings of our children and their descendants."

In Lord Dufferin himself we have a notable example of the blending of hereditary qualities, with a preponderance, one may say, of those derived from his mother's side. In his parentage we have the crossing of the lines of two families, each belonging to a type so different from the other as to be almost a contrast, with distinctive characteristics clearly marked through several generations. John Blackwood of Bangor, the paternal ancestor, must have possessed the qualities of courage, prudence, and vigorous ability that usually

make successful emigrants in troubled times, and that lie at the base of the colonization and commerce which have founded the British empire in much more distant countries than Ireland. The stock planted by him in County Down took root and flourished; his descendants were stout-hearted country gentlemen after his kind, bred of a race and on a soil that have reared and sent out from Northern Ireland some very remarkable men of action, who have served the British empire with great distinction in various parts of the world. The Blackwoods so managed their affairs as to rise steadily in wealth and reputation, improving their estate by good sense and sagacity, by advantageous marriages, by caution in politics and a conservative temper generally: they followed the course by which the land-owning class has consistently maintained its solid influence and social preponderance in this country, taking an effective share in the government, and constantly reinforcing the peerage. They had, almost all of them, numerous children, who found congenial vocations in active hardy professions, especially in that most adventurous of all English services, the British navy; they were of the unflinching sort in hardship or danger. So far as can be known, most of them had received the very imperfect education of country gentlemen; nor had any of them shown any concern or aptitude for art or literature.

The Sheridans belonged to another class, with very dissimilar antecedents and traditions. Like the Blackwoods, they were of Irish origin, with hereditary characteristics no less plainly accentuated, but of a different variety; and the narrative of their fortunes, what they did and how they fared, runs in a separate channel. Their history is well known, and for their leading representatives it has been often written, nor

has any English family provided better materials for amusing biography. It is pervaded by a flavour that may truly be called racy, because through successive generations the Sheridans preserved, to a rare and remarkable degree, the vivacious qualities of a race endowed by nature with striking attractiveness of person and manner, with lively wits and intelligence, with high-spirited, uncalculating generosity; while even their faults were of a kind that amazed or amused stiff and serious English folk, so that some excesses were easily condoned. Their follies, like their virtues, had a light and sparkling element that brightened up a society somewhat overshadowed by decorum and common sense; their naughty deeds shone in a good-natured world. In politics and oratory, in the drama and on the stage, in humorous literature and social gaiety, the Sheridans, men and women, held notable places for nearly two centuries; and through what they did, said, or wrote, ran a disregard of commonplace conventionality, an incapacity for money-making amounting sometimes to reckless extravagance, which stood out in relief against ordinary English habits and idiosyncrasies, and were proportionately attractive. In the seventeenth century, Thomas Sheridan, Papist and Jacobite, was accused of complicity with the Popish plots; but whatever may have been the truth of this charge, he gained his acquittal by proving that he had eleven times taken the oath of Conformity. His son, the next Thomas, Swift's friend and versifying correspondent, lost his benefice in the Church because, being one of the Irish Viceroy's chaplains, he selected for his sermon on Queen Anne's birthday the text, "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof." The third Thomas, warm-hearted, impulsive, and

profuse, was an excellent actor, who found a pleasant road to ruin in the management of his theatre; the friend of Garrick, Dr. Johnson, and Samuel Richardson. And the distinction, for good or for ill, of the family culminated in the genius of his son, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, whose life, ways, and achievements are so thoroughly familiar to every one that it is only necessary, for the purpose of this biography, to repeat here that he married Eliza Linley, for whom he fought twice before he ran away with her. In the "Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds" we have her picture—

"Another beautiful sitter of this year [1779] was Eliza, the youthful wife of R. B. Sheridan. Her exquisite and delicate loveliness, all the more fascinating for the tender sadness which seemed, as a contemporary describes it, to project over her the shadow of an early death; her sweet voice, and the pathetic expression of her singing; the timid and touching grace of her air and deportment, had won universal admiration for Eliza Ann Linley. Lovers and wooers flooded about her. . . . In London, when she sang at Covent Garden in 1773, the King is said to have been fascinated as much by her eyes and voice as by the music of his favourite Handel. From all this homage Miss Linley had withdrawn to share love in a cottage with Sheridan at East Barnham, after a run-away match in March 1772, and after her husband had fought two duels in her cause."

After Sheridan's death, one who knew him well wrote that "he had a spirit free from envy or malice, and a heart in which there was no hard spot."

Richard Sheridan's son Thomas, though he made no mark in the world, is remembered in a shadowy way for his good looks, agreeable manners, sprightly conversation, and for the hereditary gift of repartee,

which must have found ample exercise in the dramatic dialogues of a very irregular household. Richard once said to his son, by way of paternal rebuke for some misdeed, "Do you suppose that my father would ever have allowed me to do such a thing?" Whereupon Thomas replied indignantly, "Sir, do you dare to compare your father with my father?"

Thomas Sheridan, being consumptive, accepted some appointment at the Cape of Good Hope, where the climate was thought good for his malady, but there he died in a short time. He had married a daughter of Sir James Callander, and at his death the widow found herself left with seven children and a very small income. On her return to England with her daughter Helen (afterwards Lady Dufferin), she was given apartments at Hampton Court, and there she occupied herself first with the education and latterly with the marriage of her three daughters, fulfilling both duties, as events proved, with eminent success. Her favourite son Charles was secretary to the British embassy in Paris, where he died early. Her eldest son Brinsley* eloped to Gretna Green with an heiress, Miss Grant, an event which (Lord Dufferin writes) "caused a great sensation in London society, and Lady Jersey, Mrs. Sheridan's intimate friend, who could have found a husband for Miss Grant among her own kith and kin, never forgave my grandmother. George Bentinck was one of the principal promoters of the flight, and I believe he took the lynch-pins out of Sir Colquhoun Grant's carriage as he was starting in pursuit." Brinsley's sisters were

* "Yesterday I dined with the Nortons; it was her eldest brother's birthday, who, she says, is 'the only respectable one of the family, and that is because he has a liver complaint.'"—Lord Beaconsfield's Correspondence with his Sister, 1832–1852, p. 16.

the three famous beauties—Lady Seymour, afterwards Duchess of Somerset, Mrs. Norton, and Mrs. Blackwood, who became Lady Dufferin, and was Frederick Lord Dufferin's mother.

In the preface to his published memoir of Helen Lady Dufferin, Lord Dufferin has drawn the portrait of a mother for whom he felt nothing less than adoration, has related the principal incidents of her life, and has added his personal reminiscences of her two sisters. It is unnecessary, therefore, to enlarge here upon the parts played by these three brilliant women in the world of their day; and to do so would be a divergence from the direct course of this narrative. But the life of Lady Dufferin was closely bound up, until her death, with love and care for her only child, born so early in her youth that he could clearly remember her coming of age; her influence on the development of his character up to manhood was as powerful as it was good, wise, and tenderly appreciated; her constant vigilance and solicitude were repaid by his entire confidence and affection; so that their interests were inseparable so long as she lived; and her letters to him throw valuable light on the prevailing thoughts, feelings, and intellectual tendencies generally of his boyhood and early years.

Such was the lady who brought the mercurial Sheridan blood into the Blackwood family, and met at first with a somewhat frigid reception from her husband's parents. Lord and Lady Dufferin had been accustomed to the solid, dignified habits of a county aristocracy; they spent many months of each winter among their neighbours at Clandeboye in a round of old-fashioned hospitality, with occasional visits to London. Mrs. Ward, Price Blackwood's half-sister, has left some recollections of "large parties

of county magnates, grand and dull; many, indeed most of them, what we should now call very queer people," and she has given a lively description of the situation produced by her brother's marriage—

"It seems to me necessary to give you an idea of the scene upon which your mother in all her beauty and brilliancy burst. She belonged to another world. She was amazed at the ways and ideas she met with all round, but I anticipate—— In 1825 your father went to spend the season in Cavendish Square, where uncle and aunt Dufferin lived in state. I feel sure their idea was that having been almost constantly at sea, it was time he should see something of society and should marry. Aunt Dufferin's ideas upon marriage were rigid and narrow, like all her ideas. The 'good sensible girl with a well-regulated mind, good family, and some money,' was not easily to be found, and when found, I should say, little likely to attract any man who had a spark of feeling. Your father was launched into a new world, of which he previously had known nothing. . . . He was delighted with the attention paid him in London; his 'prospects' were examined into, and passed muster; he was considered a good match; he met your mother, by whom he became fascinated; he was truly and deeply attached to her, and he was proud of her beauty, her wit, and her high social position. But there was a general feeling in the family against the marriage, not against your mother, for they had never seen her, and I must say that from the moment they did see her some years after, both my father and uncle Dufferin were devoted to her. Sir James Graham and Lady Jersey were the people I heard blamed, and also Richard Brinsley Sheridan, who had 'written plays,' a wicked employment, and who had left a granddaughter to carry off their son and nephew. All this of course sounds preposterous now, but it was real then, and while I listened

with fear, I knew not what to think of it all. It is difficult for me to do justice to both sides—to lament over your mother's bad reception by the family, and yet to be loyal to my own people, who were fine old people in their way, but their way was not hers, and never could be. They could not understand, and cared nothing for, all the genius and talent of all the Sheridans; they preferred the stale platitudes of the common herd around them, and very funny it was to see how they connected stupidity and goodness as qualities which necessarily went together, and considered imagination as a mental disease, and genius as a very dangerous possession, leading to the breaking of the whole Decalogue!"

In these circumstances, moral and material, the prospect of married life in England was by no means agreeable; so after the wedding in July 1825 Price Blackwood and his wife departed on the same day for Italy, settled first in Florence for the winter, then moved for a time to Siena, returning again to Florence for Mrs. Blackwood's confinement; and there Frederick Lord Dufferin was born on June 21, 1826. The birth cost his mother a long and dangerous illness; she passed the convalescent stage at an old castle in the Apennines, until after two years they returned to England, and took up their residence in a cottage at Long Ditton.



Photo, R. Welch, Belfast.]

CLANDEBOYE.

[*To face p.* 18A (*vol. i.*).

APPENDIX (PAGE 4).

CLANDEBOYE—or more correctly Clan aodh buidhe, the Clan of Yellow Hugh—was divided into two, Lower Clandeboye and Upper. Lower Clandeboye was in the County of Antrim. Upper Clandeboye "reacheth from the Duffryn to Knockfergus," which would comprise the district now including Clandeboye, the residence of the late Lord Dufferin.

In the Letters Patent from James I. to James Hamilton, dated the third year of his reign (1605), the premises include "all those regions countries or territories of the Upper Clandeboye and the Great Ards in Clandeboye in the said County of Down in the Province of Ulster in his said Kingdom of Ireland and all other castles manors lands tenements and hereditaments in the said country of Clandeboye and the Great Ards of which Neale MacBrien Fertagh O'Neile or his father Brian otherwise Brian Fertagh O'Neile in the time of their lives was or were possessed of."

There were quite a numbe. of castles in this district, but the most important one was that on the hill of Castlereagh, within three miles of Belfast. Sir Brian O'Neill was treacherously made a prisoner here by the Viceroy Essex, and carried off captive to Dublin, where he was executed.*

* "Ah, Clandeboye! thy friendly floor
Slieve-Donard's oak shall light no more;
The mantling brambles hide thy hearth,
Centre of hospitable mirth,
All undistinguished in the glade,
My sires' glad home is prostrate laid.
* * * *
And now the stranger's sons enjoy
The lovely woods of Clandeboye."
(From Sir Walter Scott's "Rokeby."
The speaker is Redmond O'Neill.)

The modern mansion of Clandeboye was originally a very small two-storied house, and at some time during the eighteenth century low wings were added to either side of it.

In 1800 James Lord Dufferin raised and enlarged it, and his wife laid out the grounds immediately round the house.

Frederick (the late) Lord Dufferin made further alterations to the building, changing the entrance, and adding several rooms. He also added to the interest of it by building into the walls of the hall a number of Egyptian inscriptions and carvings which he brought home after his first visit to that country. The house is full of these souvenirs of travel. Lord Dufferin had a very great love of landscape gardening, and with most unpromising materials to work upon, he succeeded in changing the whole character of Clandeboye.

When he succeeded to it, it was a small place, with trees growing up to the windows, excluding all view. Lord Dufferin cut openings in every direction, planted the adjacent hills, and built Helen's Tower on the top of one of them. He made a large lake within sight of the windows, and, at the time of the famine, a long avenue leading down to the sea, so that he provided himself with a cheerful and extensive view, very different from that he looked out upon as a young man.

Nor did he confine his improvements to his own place. From the time he succeeded to the property at the age of 16, he began to plant every available bit of the country, to enlarge the fields, and, wherever it was possible for him to exert any influence, to improve the architecture of houses and churches.

He lived to see the result of these labours; the aspect of the country which had grieved him so much in his youth was entirely changed before he died. From the top of Helen's Tower woods are to be seen in every direction; no stone walls, or small fields, or squalid cottages mar the landscape, and the prosperous appearance of the neighbourhood, and the increased beauty of the landscape, was certainly one of the great pleasures and satisfactions of his old age.

CHAPTER II.

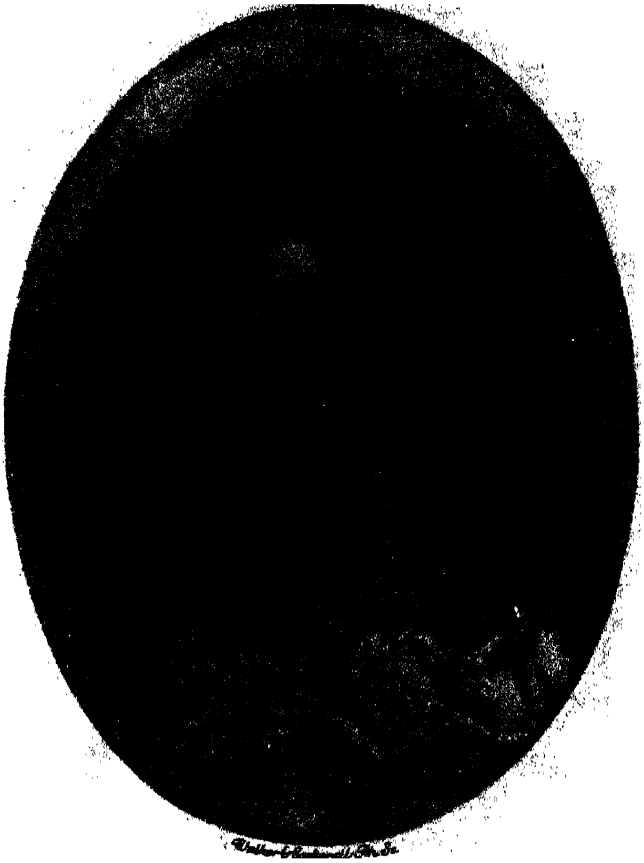
ETON AND OXFORD.

As Mrs. Blackwood's two sisters, Lady Seymour and Mrs. Norton, were by this time rising to the zenith of their radiance in the London world, she passed easily into distinguished society, and soon won the friendship and admiration, by her grace beauty, and brightness, of such men as Sydney Smith, Lord Brougham, and Theodore Hook. Among the younger friends may be mentioned Mr. Disraeli, who has noted in a diary for 1832-3 the date of his first acquaintance with the three sisters.* In the mean time Captain Blackwood's marriage had been condoned, and the estrangement from his family had ended, so he brought his wife and son to make their first acquaintance with his parents at Clontarf in Ireland, where Hans Lord Dufferin was living in a house "where no two rooms had floors on a level, and consequently everybody was tumbling up and down steps all day, no doors or windows shut, and the sea breezes played freely over every sofa and

* "The only lady at Mrs. Norton's besides herself, was her sister Mrs. Blackwood, also very handsome and very Sheridanic. She told me she was nothing. 'You see Georgy's the beauty, and Carry's the wit, and I ought to be the good one, but then I am not.'"—Lord Beaconsfield's Correspondence with his Sister, 1832-1852, pp. 16, 17.

bed, frisking out of the room after cooling every corner." Mrs. Blackwood fell ill of bronchitis, and the leading Dublin physician came to see her. "I shall never forget" (Mrs. Ward writes) "his face when the candle held to enable him to see the patient's face and throat was blown out by the wind, which blew the bed-curtains into his face." However, they all moved presently to Clandeboye, where Mrs. Blackwood rapidly conquered the entire household by her enchantments; while the old lord made his grandson, then four years old, drink Tory toasts at dessert. In 1831, when they were again in England, Captain Blackwood was appointed to the command of the *Imogene* frigate; and Lord Dufferin notes among his earliest recollections how he was on board of her when a salute was fired by the ship as she moved out to Spithead, and how his father bade them farewell when the *Imogene* put to sea for a cruise to the Cape and to India, that kept him abroad until July 1835. During his absence Mrs. Blackwood remained for the most part at Long Ditton, close to Hampton Court, where her mother, Mrs. Sheridan, had apartments; and Lord Dufferin retained pleasant memories of the broad palace gardens by the river, of the lime avenues, and of long strolls in Bushey Park. What sort of child he was at eight years of age, with the charms of his future character already germinating, is shown by a letter written from his mother to the absent father in 1833.

"I must say that he contrives to make his own way wherever he goes. Everybody takes a fancy to him, and even aunt Dufferin owns 'that it is difficult to refuse him anything,' and she sets him up as a model to all the mothers and children who visit here. Your father and mother are equally fond



Frederick Temple Blackwood aged 5 years
from a miniature.

of him, and of course all strangers think him a miracle of wit and intelligence, as they find it is the fashion of the house to consider him so. Are you not afraid we are both growing conceited with all this? I assure you I am, but nevertheless you will do me justice when you return and own I do not indulge him. As you kindly give me leave to settle as to the necessity of his going to school before your return, I think I shall keep him at home, as he is remarkably manly of his age and not in the least damaged by the society of us women, and he is my little comfort and companion during your absence, though, believe me, I could not allow any selfish reason to interfere in such a case if there was the least doubt on my mind as to the necessity of doing otherwise."

The boy was eventually sent to a school at Hampton, kept by one Mr. Walton, whose methods of instruction were according to the ancient *régime*—energetic flogging of his pupils, and copious dosing of them with brimstone and treacle. It is upon Lord Dufferin's record that "the floggings at Eton were child's play compared with the Hampton ones;" yet in the forties Dr. Hawtrey could give a rasping stroke with the birch, although he lacked the enthusiasm of his predecessor, Dr. Keate, in the exercise of an Eton headmaster's high prerogative.

It is characteristic of Lord Dufferin that, although Walton must evidently have stamped upon him some painful impressions, he never lost sight of him in after-years. He went to see Walton at Hampton before leaving England, half a century later, for the Indian Governor Generalship; and in India, when he was opening with all the pomp and circumstance of Viceregal office a great railway bridge at Benares, what pleased him above all things was the

name and parentage of the chief engineer.* Lord Dufferin was only prevented by an accident from making another visit on his return home in 1889, just before the old schoolmaster died in the same schoolhouse, where rod and physic surely never reared a more distinguished alumnus. Of Walton's large family several went to India, and to one of them, a daughter, Lord Dufferin behaved with his usual generosity when she lost all her property in flying from some station during the Indian Mutiny.

From Hampton young Frederick Blackwood passed in May 1839, to the very different atmosphere of Eton, where he was introduced by his parents to Mr. Cookesley, the tutor into whose house he was to be taken.

"We breakfasted" (Lord Dufferin writes) "with Cookesley, and at breakfast were two boys from other houses. When they left the room Mr. Cookesley said, 'There is one of the cleverest boys at

* "To me personally the completion of the Dufferin Bridge has been an especial source of pleasure—though no one could desire his service in India to be associated with a more noble monument—chiefly because the great and arduous engineering task of bridging the Ganges, at what is perhaps the most interesting as well as the most difficult part in all its course, has been executed under the immediate superintendence of Mr. Walton, whose father is one of the dearest and kindest friends I ever had, having been the instructor of my earliest youth—an instructor, I may mention in passing, who knew the principles recommended by King Solomon—and who, I am happy to think, is still alive to witness and rejoice in the success and triumph of his accomplished son."—Speech at Benares, December, 1883.

Mr. Walton wrote to Lord Dufferin—

January 20, 1888.—"My old eyes shed tears over the *Pioneer*, which reported to me the details of the gathering at the opening of the Dufferin Bridge. Please accept my thanks, heartfelt thanks, for all your generous words in regard to my son and your old tutor and lover. My dearest Lord, you have poured large drops of comfort into my cup of bitterness.'

Eton; his name is Wodehouse.' This was the present* Lord Kimberley, who was also at Oxford with me, and who was Secretary of State for the Colonies when I was Governor General of Canada, and Secretary of State for India when I was Viceroy. He has well fulfilled the promise of his youth, for he is one of the ablest of our public men; but being entirely destitute of vanity, he has never cared to captivate public attention, and consequently has been never duly appreciated. Lord Granville told me he was the most useful man on our side in the House of Lords, as he was always ready to make an effective speech when called upon to do so, and at the same time perfectly indifferent if it should turn out that his speech was not wanted—a thing that can be said of very few men."

Lady Dufferin, with her quick discrimination, saw enough at this single interview to dissatisfy her seriously with the choice of her son's tutor; but it was too late for a change; so Frederick Blackwood was placed at Cookesley's, a tutor who had more brains than ballast, whom his pupils liked much more than they respected him, who could make himself popular but could not make them work. Under Cookesley's shepherding the flock might stray at will; and Blackwood seems to have spent his time at Eton in the usual fashion of clever boys who take the regular school-work easily, and follow their own natural taste for general desultory reading. According to his later recollections, he and his fellows were all idle, never did any pupil-room work, nor did their tutor pay any attention to their morals and manners, and the tone of the house was by no means high.†

* 1894.

† Sir James Stephen's impressions of Eton about the same time (1842) corroborate in some degree Lord Dufferin's account of it. The

Lord de Ros, who was there with him, wrote long afterwards that Blackwood was a high-spirited youth of great natural talent, which he did not, however, expend upon doing his own verses; for the house had the singular good fortune of containing one boy (Lord Darnley) endowed with such a ready knack of turning out that kind of manufacture that it would have been false economy not to employ him; and he appears to have supplied the universal demand. On certain days of the week his room was besieged by customers; but "Dufferin and Darnley occupied two rooms at the top of a very steep staircase called Jacob's ladder, which Dufferin used to barricade with furniture until his own verses were done," when the rest were allowed entry—an amusing example of the various devices in vogue among Etonians of that day for baffling the very moderate attempts that were made to educate them. William Johnson, who became an Eton master, used to relate long afterwards how Cookesley would go walking with him and Blackwood, a boy on either side. Blackwood's talk was so copious that Cookesley named him "the Orator"—by that word (Johnson added) predicting his future greatness. This may have been unconscious inspiration; yet Cookesley was quite shrewd enough to discern in Blackwood, as in Wodehouse, the signs of ability and promise. But a strain of eccentricity depreciated his qualifications

teaching (Sir James thought) was "wretched," nevertheless the school had two good points—the boys were gentlemen by birth and breeding; and "there was a complete absence of moral and religious enthusiasm." In the former respect young Blackwood was certainly up to the highest standard of the school; and the frigid temperature of the religious climate at Eton did him no harm, for some of his early letters indicate a warm and earnest feeling towards religion. (See "The Life of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen," pp. 80, 81.)

for the tutorial responsibilities that were for many years entrusted to him.

In June 1841 Price Lord Dufferin went down to Eton for a day's visit to his son, who has described in his recollections how his father went up the river with him as a "sitter" in the eight-oar, and nearly fell overboard in pushing off the boat's stern, which had caught in a beam of the lock-gates. They parted in pleasant expectation of meeting again for the summer holidays at Clandeboye a few weeks later. But on the day before the school broke up came sudden news to Eton that Price Lord Dufferin had died on board a steam-packet during the passage across the Irish Channel. It is conjectured that he had been worried and greatly fatigued by an unsuccessful contest for election to Parliament at Chatham, since it is known that when he embarked, immediately afterwards, at Liverpool, he had bought some morphia pills from a chemist on the quay; and of these he must have taken an overdose, for he was found dead in his berth when the vessel reached Belfast.

"His letters and journals" (Lord Dufferin writes) "are the best witnesses to the simplicity, truthfulness, and crystal purity of my father's character."

Lady Dufferin was at Castellamare, in delicate health, when her husband died. Her son, now Lord Dufferin, joined her there immediately, stayed with her in Italy six months, returned to school in February 1842, and left Eton finally in April 1843. From the brief and irregular journals kept by him during the years 1839-42, it may be gathered that he was picking up elementary notions of art and literature by miscellaneous reading and visits to picture galleries, and that his mind was quickened by

travelling abroad during the holidays. Boating was already his favourite pastime; but of references to the routine business of the school the entries contain very little. He was evidently one of those boys to whom the liberty and latitude of a great public school are favourable, because the system allows them to develop their innate faculties and tastes, encouraging study without insisting upon it, leaving them to teach themselves quite as much as they are taught, while the absence of strict discipline operates upon them as a trial of character. In short, it is what Mr. Gladstone has termed (though not with reference to schools) "the insensible education, irrespective of mere book-learning," that trains, strengthens, and fertilizes the minds of those who are naturally capable of profiting by it. Of course, one grave disadvantage of this system is that dull and indolent boys profit far more by the playing-field than by the schoolroom, where indeed they learn little or nothing; yet the education takes good hold of minds that are constitutionally fitted to absorb it, though with some others it only serves, like preventive inoculation, to harden them against further book-learning.* Thirty years afterwards Lord Dufferin wrote to his son's tutor—

"Education is a subject to which I have given

* Compare the account, in Renan's "Souvenirs de Jeunesse," of the system practised at the seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris—

"Les directeurs mènent exactement la vie des élèves et s'occupent d'eux aussi peu que possible. Si l'on veut travailler, on y est admirablement placé pour cela. Si l'on n'a point l'amour du travail, on peut ne rien faire, et il faut avouer qu'un grand nombre usent largement de la permission. Les interrogations, les examens sont presque nuls; l'emulation n'existe à aucun degré et serait tenue pour un mal.'

Renan concludes that "this supreme respect for liberty," though it was against hard study, was on the whole beneficial, and that the principle might well be applied to the system of public instruction in France.



Lord Dufferin as a boy at Eton

from a miniature

a great deal of attention, and in respect to which I have some experience. It is very clear that the problem of educating the British youth has not yet been solved. If you read the Report of the Commissioners on the Public Schools of England, you will find that nothing can be more disheartening than the conclusions at which they arrive. The Report of the Commission on our first-class Female Academies is even more distressing, and I am quite determined, so far as care and forethought can do so, that the ten best years of my boy's life shall not be spent in nominally learning two dead languages, without being able to translate an ordinary paragraph from either without the aid of a dictionary, when at nineteen or twenty he presents himself for matriculation at the University. Yet the Commissioners say that nine-tenths of the young men who come up to Oxford and Cambridge can scarcely do this much, in spite of all that parents, tutors, private and public schools have been able to do for them since they were eight years old."

Lord Dufferin had, fortunately for him, an invaluable guide and monitor in his mother, whose letters to him at school, and afterwards at the University, are models of wise and affectionate counsel, of tender solicitude, earnest warnings, and keen-witted discernment of character.

During the interval of eighteen months between his leaving Eton and his going up to Oxford, which was spent by Lord Dufferin in Ireland and elsewhere, he went through some earnest preparatory study; the course that he laid down for himself was to "sap five hours a day, have two hours' English reading, and one hour employed in doing my religious duties." In a letter dated July 1844 he tells his mother that he is looking forward with great pleasure to the larger life of a University.

"*I feel*" (*he writes*) "*a great longing for a more* extensive circle of acquaintances than I now possess. Although you may be inclined to laugh at me talking of the pleasures of society, etc., yet, dear Mother, I assure you that I feel something within myself which wishes for an acquaintance with others—men or boys. It is not a feeling similar to that which makes me like the society of one's schoolfellows, but a desire of comparing my impressions with those of others. I want to see whether other people are such as I; in short, I want to see the world from which I have been separated since I left Eton, and certainly no one can have enjoyed a pleasanter or happier seclusion."

In January 1845 he saw in London his guardian, Sir James Graham, who met him at Oxford on the day of his arrival there—an epoch in his life that he never forgot.

"I remember I was so beside myself when my uncle, Sir James Graham, brought me to Oxford, that the night we slept at the Mitre I was desperately sick from sheer excitement; and even the discovery that my rooms, instead of having mediæval windows, were pure George the Third, hardly damped my joy. Northbrook inhabited those immediately above me." *

On the 24th of the same month, Lady Dufferin acknowledges his first letter from Christ Church, in a reply that mingles social gossip and political news from Paris with injunctions to keep up his French, to read Don Quixote, but to avoid Gil Blas; "the interest and wit of that book do not counterbalance its immorality."

"I was happy to get your first letter from

* Written in 1890.

Oxford, and to fancy you as comfortably settled as you seem to be. The south aspect and garden view sound to me delightful, and I think you rather conceited to regret that it looks on the 'least cultivated part' of the Dean's domain! The Lord Ogilvy you mention is grandson to the old Lady Airlie, who said 'the folks on Hillymuir are far a-hint!' when she heard that a carrier had dropped a lobster in the village, which the inhabitants took up reverentially and carried to the schoolmaster (as the wise man of the place) to ask what it could be, who replied, 'It maun either be an eeliphant or a turtle doo—for they are the only two beasts we dinna ken by sight.'"

From this time forward throughout Lord Dufferin's residence at Christ Church, the correspondence between mother and son is an admirable record of affectionate intimacy. He writes of his daily work, of wine-parties, of one set that he dislikes and another that he prefers, of the manners and habits of the University, of his pursuits, impressions, and aspirations. He is amazed by the "great outward respect" that he finds paid to gentlemen commoners, and by the privileges that they enjoy, without having, he says, the slightest claim to them.

"We dine at a table by ourselves, raised on a daïs at the top of the hall; our gowns are made of silk, and a gold tassel is put on the cap, whence the name of 'tufts;' all others are interdicted from keeping servants and horses; we are not even expected to do so much in our college examinations; in short, there is no circumstance in which we are not given the advantage, consequently we are tempted to think that there must be some intrinsic merit in ourselves to deserve such attention, and begin to look with contempt upon those our fellow-students, who are not treated with like respect."

At first he fell into company not at all to his mind, "all hunting men," and of very profane conversation.

"I came here" (he wrote to his mother) "with the determination to keep myself as much as possible from pretensions to superior morality, but to avoid any conduct which might be called methodistical; but I am sure you will agree with me in thinking that my best course will be to drop as unobservedly as possible out of such a society."

He soon drew himself free from these associates, and found his proper place among the best undergraduates of his own standing, with some of whom he kept up a friendship for the rest of their lives. He exhibited already the alert curiosity, the readiness to consort with people of various sorts and conditions, the amused interest in quaint folk and strange manners, that are uncommon in the ordinary English youth, who is apt to shun eccentricity.

"Yesterday I had a *tête-à-tête* with a Phœnician, come over to England to learn medicine. He dresses in the costume of his country. I was delighted with his conversation. . . . Upon his admiring the picture of Henry VIII., I thought that being a Turk and fellow countryman of Blue-beard, I might tell him the history of his seven wives. He was delighted, and was particularly inquisitive into the number which his majesty had at once. I was surprised to find him totally unacquainted with Sanchoniathon, and as to Manetho and Berosus, he had never heard so much as their names."

This personage appears to have been an Armenian by birth and creed. When Lord Dufferin consulted his old schoolmaster, Walton, on the best means of

converting him to Anglican orthodoxy, Walton replied that it was perfectly useless to consult Archdeacons or Bishops upon such a matter, and advised resort to a City mission.

That he very soon began to take University life seriously is proved by the frequent allusions in his letters to the Pythic club, a society which owes its initiation to him, with the collaboration of George Boyle,* Pakington,† and a few other intimates. The members met, in strict privacy, to read essays, and to debate on diverse subjects, ethical, political, and historical; "all theological subjects to be disallowed, but moral questions agitated;" the speeches to be recorded in the archives of the club. Lord Dufferin, who invented the name,‡ and was the first president, opened the inaugural meeting by reading an essay; and on a subsequent occasion he spoke upon Duelling, "all my speech taken from the Penny Encyclopædia;" while another oration was against Hunting. There was also a motion, proposed by Boyle, that "William III. was one of the most despicable characters in history," when Dufferin replied by an eloquent defence of Lord Macaulay's hero. At other times "Frederick the Great was dreadfully battered, and his fame reckoned infamy." Charles I. fared little better under discussion, and Pakington is reported as having made "an excellent speech on Manufacturers, though his reasoning was all wrong." That the proceedings were sometimes conducted with more

* Afterwards Earl of Glasgow.

† Afterwards Lord Hampton.

‡ "Pythic from πυθέσθαι, to inquire into truth" (Lord Dufferin to his mother). The derivation is a very doubtful one, but the Pythians are said to have been persons appointed in Sparta to consult the Delphic oracle on affairs of State; and the Oxford Pythians took up similar questions in a cave of their own.

heat than harmony may be inferred from several entries in Lord Dufferin's journal for 1846, as, for example—"Private meeting at the Pythic. Great Disorder. Seditious placards. Blackett's Finis."

In a letter to his mother he describes a "fearful crisis at the Pythic," when the opposition, led by Dufferin, silenced Pakington by indignant "screaming and knocking their heads against the table." And in March of that year he gave an immense wine-party, followed immediately by a Pythic meeting, where he seems to have argued with immoderate fluency and fervour in support of his thesis that the heathen oracles were certainly of Satanic origin. It may be here mentioned that on July 1, 1898, Lord Dufferin presided in London at a dinner attended by about a hundred and fifty Pythic members, past and present, of whom the only original member beside himself was the late Sir William Fraser.

His mother, whom he often asks to suggest debatable topics, replies that she feels shy about tendering advice to the oracular Pythians, but gives sound advice in regard to the due preparation of his discourses, comments humorously upon his reports of their proceedings, declares that the Pythic is the only flourishing institution of its time, and predicts that it will soon cover the habitable globe with its doctrines and disciples. In respect to the spelling in his letters, she inquires whether it betokens a new Pythic mode of writing, and remarks that "it won't do for Cadmæans and Pythians to commit errors in orthography."

"You are very careless" (she writes) "in spelling, and the reason I tell you of it is that a habit of inattention to that matter easily grows on one; and you might end by writing letters worthy of

Lord Londonderry. My grandfather Sheridan always affirmed that no Irish peer could spell. Pray don't let his first great-grandson be a proof of his knowledge of Irish ignorance.

"I think you and Boyle have hit on a good plan in breakfasting together that you may not get into slovenly or awkward habits from being alone; not that I fear that fault for you, for you have a natural taste for the proprieties of life, and can see and appreciate grace in little as well as great things, but still nobody can cultivate that quality too much if one does but consider of what real importance manner is. As all the good a man can do in this world will depend much on the influence he attains over the minds of others, he should endeavour (from the best of motives) to avoid being ridiculous or uncouth in his ways, as it tends much to efface (in the eyes of the multitude) the impression which sound sense and real talent might otherwise produce."

Upon another subject, his complaint about the miscarriage of her letters, she answers—

"Do you really mean to say that you have never received any of those pleasant and instructive letters which I have been at the trouble of writing to you on all imaginable and unimaginable subjects? Not even the last one, which treated of the cosmogony of the universe, nor my eloquent treatise on the original purpose of pyramid building! How very odd! Uncle Graham must have been at the post-office* again; but that is the worst misfortune of instructive writers. Public men immediately endeavour to appropriate their ideas."

Here is one passage drawn from a letter brimming over with affection and solicitude—

* This is an allusion to the opening of Mazzini's letters by order of the Secretary of State.

"Your letter gave me much pleasure, not because it assured me of your love, for I need no words to convince me of that, but because it showed me that you know how very dear you are to me. I promise you that I shall always keep it by me as long as I live, and it shall be buried with me when I die. You are wrong in calling yourself 'selfish.' I know no one who would be more ready to sacrifice his own pleasure or advantage to another than you are, and you may accept this praise from me fearlessly, for you know I judge you as severely as I love you greatly.

"Bacon says—'There is no greater trust between friend and friend than that of giving counsel,' how much greater that trust between mother and son! No, you are not selfish, but self-occupied, which you know is the danger I am always warning you against, for though that preoccupation of mind proceeds in your case from the best of motives—a desire to make yourself a worthy servant of God, still that close attention to minutiæ in which you exclude every object but yourself and your own actions, must tend in the long run to remove you from the great end you have in view. You are to me, my darling! all that a mother's heart can desire, the best and most obedient of sons, but I wish you to be yet more,—I wish you to be a good and great man, a philosopher and a Christian, in the largest sense of that word, more occupied with the good of others than his own, more impressed with the sacredness of great duties than of petty forms. But I feel convinced that you will be all that I wish or dream, for a sincere desire to do right, is, after all, the best and surest guide for the clearest as well as the weakest intelligence, and all straight paths lead forward."

Again—

"Your *Tableaux Vivants* sound to me much like bad pantomimes; nothing is so pretty or pleasing as

a breathing representation of some great *chef d'œuvre* which we all know and recognize, for the memory and imagination are both affected by it. But silly people putting themselves in affected attitudes to represent imaginary persons, has always appeared to me a waste of time, energy, and candle-light."

On Lord Dufferin's election to the Union, the University's debating club, his first oratorical venture was in a discussion over the Polish question, when, although he had not intended to speak, he found himself to his own astonishment suddenly on his legs, and making without any difficulty what he believed to be a pretty good speech. In 1847 he became President of the Union, to his mother's great satisfaction, who inquires whether there is any salary or emolument attached to the office of "President's Mother." He notes in his diary for the same year that the practice of fasting had been commended to him by his friend Boyle, and that having ascertained that it was approved by High Churchmen, he was studying the question attentively. On experiment, however, fasting damaged his health, so that he was induced by his mother to consult the Bishop of Ely, whose advice upon the matter he appears to have accepted. There are other references in his letters to a scheme for self-examination and to rules for daily living, indicating—in the words of one who knew him at that time—a certain degree of exaltation, or, as he himself called it later, an emotional state of mind, in regard to religion. He had already begun to meditate seriously upon the duties and responsibilities of the life that lay before him, to make plans and form resolutions, and the natural activity of his temperament was developing in various directions.

In Paris, during the winter vacation of 1846, he was presented to the King, Louis Philippe—

"He asked me whether I came from Ireland, and whether it was the first time I had been in Paris. The Queen said, 'Fils de Lady Dufferin?' to which I answered by a bow. 'Oh,' she added, 'il a les traits de sa mère.' Went to the Embassy ball, danced till five in uniform; shoved through a glass door."

In crossing the Channel on his way homeward, he found on the steamer Dr. Hawtrey, his Eton head-master, and met him again at Paddington station, where "I talked to him familiarly, to the manifest wonder and reverence of all the little Etonians. I could not help laughing at the gossiping nature of our conversation; for we talked of nothing but the fair women of Paris, and the respective loves we left mourning for us in that capital."

Lord Dufferin took his degree in November 1846, and left Oxford in the following December. It is somewhat remarkable that neither his journal nor his correspondence for this period contains any allusion to the events and controversies that brought the agitation in the University over the famous Tractarian Movement to its climax during the first year of his residence. A few weeks after he entered Christ Church that tumultuous meeting of the Convocation was held at which the censures proposed upon Newman and Ward were negatived, amid vehement excitement, by the Proctors; and in October 1845 Newman's secession to the Roman Church produced a profound sensation at Oxford. That these storms in the upper air should have passed over the heads of undergraduates is, however, sufficiently comprehensible; and although Lord Dufferin,

as we have seen, had serious thoughts about religion, he had not the studious, contemplative, theological cast of mind. The activity of his intellect, which was a marked feature of his character, ran into other channels; his bent was evidently toward political discussion, not only in regard to points of past history, but also to questions of practical administration. His reading seems to have been varied, and possibly desultory; yet though in classical scholarship his equipment may have been light, he undoubtedly managed to imbibe that taste and admiration for Latin and Greek literature which he diligently cultivated and turned to account throughout an after-life of strenuous work and incessant peregrinations.*

Nearly half a century afterwards he wrote to Lord Arthur Russell—

"Certainly my two years at Oxford were by far the happiest of my (unmarried) existence; and the friends I made there have been the friends of my life."

And the strength of this friendship is attested by the Dean of Durham (Dr. Kitchin), one of the very few survivors, who writes (1903)—

"We were close undergraduate friends together. I was one of the first men whom Lord Dufferin and Mr. Boyle took into a little literary club that they established among Christ Church men; a society that met in profound secrecy, even the name of it was

* "He (Ruskin) is a wonderful example of the ennoblement of Pass work by a strong and ready intelligence. In my time I have known three men of whom this is true; men on whom the old Pass education really had excellent effects; these were: Lord Salisbury, Lord Dufferin and Ava, and Ruskin. They all brought to it a generosity of mind and breadth of experience which raised them above the work they had to do; they had the power of getting good out of the dry bones of the Pass system."—"Ruskin in Oxford, and other Studies," by Dean Kitchin, p. 30.

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unknown. Though I have seen but little of him in modern days, our ancient affection never died out to the end. He was not a leader of sport or games: always with a dash of Sheridan wit and brightness in his quiet life. No one who saw his inner life could have failed to be deeply impressed by his beautiful courtesy, his affectionate feeling toward his lad-friends, his singular winning power. He did not aim at Oxford distinction, but took his line steadily for diplomatic work. In those days he was what we now should call a moderate Whig."

The following recollections, contributed spontaneously to this biography by another Oxford friend and contemporary, Mr. Herbert Fisher, who died a few weeks after sending it, are of sufficient value and interest to be inserted at length :—

"Lord Dufferin came from Eton to Christ Church, singularly attractive, as he always was, in appearance and manner, and with all his other gifts might have been expected to take a conspicuous place in the society of the place. But from the first he led a very quiet life; he neither hunted nor rowed nor played games (but this was before the era of athletics), and his immediate friends were not many. The two nearest to his heart were, I have no doubt, George F. Boyle and Francis Robert Hepburn; and it was a remarkable selection for him to have made.

"Boyle was the brother of the Earl of Glasgow, whom he succeeded in the title; I well recollect his first arrival at Christ Church. He had been at no public school, if at any school at all; and was slightly uncouth in appearance, with garments of an antique cut, extremely silent and shy, and with a broad Scotch accent. He came as a Gentleman Commoner, and must have found himself at once with strangely unfamiliar surroundings. Happily for him, Dufferin

took to him at once, and they became fast friends. Boyle accompanied him on their famous visit to Skibbereen during the Irish famine, an account of which was published, and which gave rise to an animated debate at the Union. Dufferin brought forward a motion to appropriate some at all events of the accumulated money of the Society to the Irish Famine Fund, and he advocated his case with impassioned eloquence. But his motion was, of course rightly, rejected. Boyle was a deeply religious man, his whole soul was devoted to charitable works, and I do not believe that he cared for anything else. I think that Dufferin must at first have been struck by his apparent isolation, and then no doubt he became deeply penetrated with the beauty of his character.

"Hepburn, like Boyle, had never been at any public school, and was undistinguished for talent and attainments of any kind. But he was most engaging, as simple and guileless a soul as ever lived. He was predestined to Holy Orders, and was to succeed to the family living of Chailey in Sussex. This he did in time, living at first with two sisters, and then with the survivor till his death, his elder brother Colonel Hepburn being squire of the parish. In 1893 he was struck with paralysis, and he went to his bed, from which he never again rose. He died the next year. Dufferin had corresponded constantly with him during the whole of his life, and I believe had an intense love for him. At the time of Hepburn's illness Dufferin was ambassador in Paris, but he took an opportunity during a visit to England of paying him a last visit, and 'was extremely interested in all his surroundings and in seeing the house where he had passed his innocent and useful life.' He went into the church and got up into his pulpit, and in another letter he writes, 'Poor Hepburn! he was already an angel when he was at Oxford. I never knew such an innocent nature, and innocent is the only term to be applied to his entire life.'

"I cannot but think that it would give Dufferin pleasure were he to know that in any memoir of his life his affection for this friend were recorded. Fidelity in friendship was certainly one of Dufferin's most marked characteristics.

"Dufferin never had any idea of reading for honours, and passed his Final Schools as soon as he could. He was an advocate for a greater latitude in the studies of the place as they were then pursued, and I do not recollect his taking any particular interest in the Classics, and was rather surprised, when I met him in Piccadilly one day not very long after he had left Oxford, at his telling me that he was reading Pindar with delight. He became a constant reader of the Classics, and was always glad to talk about them.

"Whilst at Oxford he took great pleasure in a small debating club which he organized, composed of his more immediate friends. We met once a week, I think, in his rooms in Canterbury, and read papers and debated; contemporary politics were excluded. These I need not say were very pleasant evenings.

"But Dufferin did not confine himself to this very domestic arena; he spoke at the Union, and the records of the Society show that he was President for Easter term 1847.

"He was a Liberal in politics, but I do not think that he took very keen interest in the political strife of the day, and I should say that the detachment from party required during the most important part of his subsequent life did not cost him much, and indeed was congenial to him. So in matters of religion. He was during his life at Oxford strongly dominated by religious feeling. His friend Boyle was an ardent High Churchman of the Pusey and Newman type (the prevailing type in those days), but Dufferin showed no signs of leaning either towards that or any other party in the Church.

"The last letter I received from Dufferin was written

on the 22nd of November 1901, from Clandeboye, just after his return from Edinburgh, giving a delightful account of his visit to Oxford to unveil the memorial to Sir William Hunter. . . . 'I was staying' (he wrote) 'with the Warden of Merton, who is an old friend of mine, and I did enjoy so finding myself in college, going to chapel, dining in hall, and afterwards adjourning to the Common room. In one respect, however, I was disappointed, for I had been looking forward to attending a Latin service in the Cathedral, but it seems they have abolished it. Except my own home, there is no place on earth that I love so much as Oxford, and yet I have been there so seldom since we left, and in the one or two flying visits I have paid the place I was not allowed an hour to myself, as some function or other was always on hand. . . . I was just able to get a glimpse of my old rooms, as the owner's oak was not sported, and he was the son of a friend of mine. . . . Alas, alas! how many of that friendly, happy set of ours have disappeared!—Pakington, Boyle, Hepburn, Hunt,* Blackett,† Fraser,‡ Buckland,§ all gone. You, Kitchin,‖ Robert Murray, and myself, are I think the only survivors.'"

* The Right Hon. G. Ward Hunt.
† Montagu Blackett.
‡ Sir William Fraser.
§ Frank Buckland.
‖ Dr. Kitchin, Dean of Durham.

CHAPTER III.

SECTION I.

ENTRY INTO PUBLIC LIFE.

FROM the beginning of 1847, when Lord Dufferin had left Oxford, up to the end of 1848, his journal has not been preserved. In an entry for January 1847, however, he notes the date when he first thought of an expedition to those districts in Ireland where the famine was at its worst; for the potato crop of 1846 had utterly failed, and disease was raging among a starving population. Toward the end of February 1847 he crossed with his friend George Boyle to Dublin, where he was told that at the little town of Skibbereen in Kerry he could find what he came to see in Ireland, so to that place they went on immediately. Within two days' journey from the richest and most thriving country in the world they found a town plunged in the lowest depths of misery and desolation; the famished people were dying in their hovels; the living had scarcely strength to bury the dead; the corpses were thrown into shallow grave-pits without funeral rites, often without coffins; a crowd in the streets fought like dogs for some bread which the two friends distributed. The small farmers, having neither food nor seed-grain, had left their lands untilled, and had gone to labour on

the public famine works; the poorest people had pawned their furniture and even their tools; the fishermen had parted with their boats and nets; the petty tradesmen, having no customers, were also in distress. In the mean time, the larger farmers, "who make the exports that astonish every one, and by the sale of their corn have alone flourished in the general calamity," had ceased to pay their rents, and were emigrating wherever they had in this way got together money enough. On their return to Oxford the two friends published there a narrative of their journey; and among the letters received by Lord Dufferin in 1847 are several that prove the ardent energy with which he took up the work of collecting subscriptions for the Irish peasantry, and of promoting the organization of Relief Committees. With these objects he endeavoured to assemble a public meeting, and he appears to have applied for support to the Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce), who replied circuitously that "although I should be unwilling by word or deed to check the self-denying sympathy which it is your Lordship's wish to arouse, I cannot say that, considering the peculiarities attendant on your Lordship's position at Oxford, I should be disposed to recommend a public meeting"—and who referred him to the Vice-Chancellor, by whom permission for the meeting was refused. To his mother he writes—

"The news we have brought back [from Ireland] has made a great impression upon the men here. They are squeezing out money from every possible sponge, principally innocent old fathers and warm-hearted mothers; they are selling their pictures, their pianos, and have passed some very statesmanlike resolutions with regard to their kitchen

arrangements. . . . I hope before we have done that £1000 will be poured into Skibbereen."

He contributed, anonymously, precisely that sum to the Relief Fund—somewhat to the alarm of Lady Dufferin, who had shaken her head over the "Quixotic trip" to the land of famine, of which he had sent her no warning before he set out.

"By hiding your escapade from me" (she writes) "you have given me an abiding sense of unsecurity, for how am I ever to feel safe from doubt and anxiety, if, when I have reason to think you are safe in your bed at Oxford, you may be in fact making a trip to Jerusalem to see if things are going on right there, or inquiring into the political state of Cracow—sur les lieux mêmes!"

She again cautions him against rushing too impulsively into these projects, having evidently been much alarmed at his visit to places where the typhus fever was spreading very destructively in the famine's wake.

"Nevertheless" (she says), "if your heart is set upon being in Ireland for your birthday, do not think that I would offer any opposition to your very first act of independence, especially as you have been the most reasonable and obedient of sons all your minor days."

To his mother he writes, a month before coming of age, a letter that illustrates his affectionate gratitude for her care of him—

"Your house has for the last twenty years been my most happy home, where everything has always been sacrificed to my interests, and all my fancies have been attended to, and I am sure the least that I can do is to try and make my house agreeable to you, though I fear that after all that can be done I will have had the best of the bargain. I cannot say

all that I would. I cannot explain how happy I would have you, or how happy I feel you have made *me, or how much I wish to make you consider my house your home for ever.*"

The date of his attaining majority was June 21, 1847;* but his coming of age was not celebrated at Clandeboye until August, when he was entertained there by five hundred of his tenantry, and various speeches were made, upon which his uncle, R. B. Sheridan, comments characteristically—

"I read the account of your sayings and doings on the day your tenants presented their mess of potatoes to satisfy the stomachs of yourself and your friends. I thought all you said in the best taste and as graceful as a Sheridan could wish."

At another dinner given to his tenantry in December he spoke at length with that mixture of gaiety and gravity which belonged to his temperament, beginning in a humorous and exuberant tone that dropped into seriousness toward the end. His description of an Irish landlord as "an individual who does not get rent; a well-dressed gentleman who may be shot with impunity, the legitimate target of the immediate neighbourhood, a superficial index by which to mark the geographical direction of the under-currents of assassinations," not unnaturally jarred upon the nerves of Lord Dungannon, who published a letter to him remonstrating against "treating such a fearful and melancholy truth as in any way the fit subject for a jest!" Yet most people would allow that a convivial meeting and the orator's youth might excuse

* The stanzas written by his mother to him, and sent to him on his twenty-first birthday, full of ardent love, of hopes and anxiety for his future welfare, are in the published collection of Helen Lady Dufferin's "Songs and Verses."

these sallies; and in a private letter Lord Dungannon subsequently acknowledged his strong sense of the good taste and kindness of heart evinced by the reply which Lord Dufferin had written to him.

Lord Dufferin's connexion with his University was now rapidly falling away, and Sir John Pakington writes to him in sorrow over the decadence of the Pythic club since its founder left—

"We have had one meeting under the new system—Barker president, myself secretary; a good subject for debate (the Norman Conquest) brought forward by me; no one spoke but the mover; no essay, no authority, no order—a big book with nothing to write in it, a smart ballot box with no one to vote for, a neat box for motions with nothing to move, eight and sixpence in the treasury—are all that remain of that once illustrious establishment."

Lord Dufferin, in fact, after leaving Oxford seems to have leapt into the midst of London society, where he soon made very numerous friends, and became heartily welcome at many houses. A letter from his mother in 1847 tells him that all his friends think the moment propitious for his entering Parliament, and offer him their support with full discretion to choose his way in politics conscientiously and independently; but nothing seems to have followed these overtures. She writes, again, that though she wishes him to marry early in life, he ought first to see something of the world, wherefore he is advised to show no serious preferences, but to dance and chat with all impartially. And the subjoined extract from a subsequent letter indicates that her son was conforming dutifully to her counsels—

"Many young ladies have been seen weeping over my area railings and pressing the scraper to their

hearts. It is supposed that they may have been your partners in the mazy dance."

But Lord Dufferin at no time allowed his keen enjoyment of pleasure to overmaster his purpose of taking life seriously. Early in 1848 came the sudden revolutionary storm that swept over all the kingdoms of Western and Central Europe. His mother writes to him of the intense anxiety and excitement in London over the fall and flight from Paris of Louis Philippe.

"Last night it was positively affirmed that the banished King was at Folkestone; and an express train was sent for him. The post is stopped; the rails are torn up (in France), so that no private communications between Paris and London are possible. There were seven editions of the *Times* out in the course of yesterday. . . . The times are most stirring and interesting—to hear so many and such different minds discussing the daily events is like an intellectual pantomime."

At home the condition of Ireland, now barely recovering from the famine, constantly occupied his attention; and he appears to have gone there from time to time, collecting and verifying facts with much industry. After going round over all the townlands on his Clandeboye estate, he writes to his mother—

"A more melancholy, saddening employment, can scarcely be conceived. It is like looking down, as Jeremy Taylor says, from the battlements of heaven upon all the various miseries in the world, for a relation of all the misfortunes the tenants have suffered during the last twenty years, is the sole subject of their conversation—while their wretched hovels are no very enlivening commentary to the tales, and even the most hopeful and active of them keep only recounting the exertions they have made, and the privations they have endured, to scrape

together 'his lordship's rent,' which it is their pride to think 'they have always paid, even though they had to go wanting a shirt.' Then again, almost every second farm I came to, Howe pointed it out to me as one utterly done, incapable of paying the smallest rent that could be put on, owing to the way the land has been run down. Add to this a bleak, bare country, studded thickly with the gables of ruined houses, and blotted over with low black cabins, without a hedge or tree, but intersected with rugged blue stone walls and flooded with black bogs, or dull steel-coloured sheets of water, and you have the picture of what most of my estate consists of. Certainly the pluck of the people is wonderful sometimes, and soon I hope we shall be able to effect wonderful changes."

In reply to a request for subscriptions to the building of a church, he offers £200, on condition that the plans shall be approved by him, saying—

"I am determined that, so far as lies in my power to prevent it, the face of the country shall not any longer be disfigured by the disgraceful attempts at ecclesiastical architecture which are at present so frequent. And you need not entertain any fears of my wishing to introduce any of the Oxford innovations."

In May 1848 he was making speeches in County Down, much approved by his mother, who writes, however, that one of them was a little too classical and metaphysical; and in August he delivered to his tenants at Clandeboye an address, evidently composed very carefully, on the relations between Irish landlords and tenants, mainly with advertence to the custom of Tenant Right in Ulster, reviewing it at length historically as to its origin, and economically as to its operation. Now that the main issues upon the case between Irish landlords and tenants, which were then so fiercely debated, have been determined by

trenchant legislation, Lord Dufferin's arguments, and his conclusion that "Tenant Right is a custom upon which I look with the greatest regret and disapproval," have lost immediate interest. Yet an extract may be given from the beginning of his speech to illustrate the style of his oratory at an age when he had just attained manhood, and as evidence that he had spared no pains to fit himself for the position and duties of an Irish landlord. A year's actual experience had cured him of any disposition to be facetious.

"Last year when I first undertook the guidance of that most unmanageable subject, an Irish estate, I had but an indistinct conception of what lay before me. I knew that I was charged with great responsibilities, that the happiness of many depended upon me, and that I had to convey a large tract of land, with its superincumbent population, safe through the many dangers which surrounded them. Since then I have been trying to comprehend the attitude of affairs; and I confess few things are so perfectly incomprehensible. I consider a newly constituted Irish landlord is a sublime spectacle. There is something heroic in his situation; his difficulties are so insurmountable, and the destiny against which he hopelessly strives is so ruthless and inexorable, that he becomes extremely affecting and even commonplace. . . . There is nothing that he has not to do, or be, or try to be. Without the slightest warning, he suddenly finds himself wildly ranging through a whole circle of difficulties. In ethics, politics, and economics, he stands helplessly confronting an entire conglomeration of problems which the ingenious management of his predecessors have invented for his solution, with evils accumulated through centuries, until they have become absorbed into the constitution, and threatened with the possibilities of physical violence, unless he suffers his acquiescence to become their additional confirmation.

Something of this has been, psychologically speaking, my condition during the past year. Month after month has passed in the contemplation of these phenomena, including the rapid survey of a rebellion, as interpreted by Smith O'Brien and Co. I have done my best to make myself master of the subject, and to understand the spirit of my own people. According to my promise, I have visited you all in your own homes—a very extensive undertaking; I have passed whole days among the bogs—a somewhat monotonous occupation; I have eaten your oat-cake, drunk your tea; and warmed myself at your firesides, until I hope I am as conversant with the domestic mysteries of cottier life as the most canny gudewife among you.

"This inspection has been both careful and interesting; but at the same time it was rather a sad employment—to walk day after day in a dull, thick rain, over a bleak country, treeless and hedgeless, scarred all over with crooked stone walls, which enclose three-cornered bits of half-cultivated fields; to wade up unmade clay lanes to the doors of cottages, perched away on slanting pieces of rock, green outside with damp and black inside with smoke; to be almost upset by the conscious pig, as he rushes out between your legs—lest you should see how comfortably domesticated he is with the family inside; to listen to the oft-repeated tale of loss of cattle by murrain and children by fever, which, gorged and satiated, seems only to have retreated for a time to the reeking heap of filth beneath the windows, whence, as from a citadel, he may sally forth to snatch fresh victims day after day. I repeat, to witness such sights as these which, though by no means universal, are yet too frequent, is, I assure you, by no means calculated to raise the spirits. The evils are so gigantic and so independent of the landlord's control, that after a long day's walk I often came home confounded, but never despairing. I reflected that time, management,

education, nothing could resist: that improvement once in progress acquires itself an innate power of motion, and if not in this, at all events in the next generation, the whole tone of people's habits might be raised.

"Such, gentlemen, is the kind of work that Irish landlords have now on their hands."

The plan which at this period he had shaped for himself was to spend a year or two in studying some of the impending questions most likely to rank foremost in the political field, and to determine the principles that he could advocate, before entering the House of Commons. He had already proved an aptitude for affairs, and a faculty of public speaking, that promised future distinction; and his rising reputation was marking him out as one whose services in Parliament would be valuable to the party with whom he might throw in his lot. Accordingly in January 1849 he accepted from Lord John Russell the post of a Lordship-in-waiting;* and later in that year Lord Lansdowne offered to vote for his election as a Representative Peer for Ireland, being convinced (he wrote) that Lord Dufferin would do more credit to the representation than any other person. Nevertheless, he declined to put himself in nomination, on the ground that he was then aiming at the House of Commons, "which has always seemed to me a better place for a beginner than the House of Lords;" and when Lord John Russell, at Pembroke Lodge, after a dinner, proposed to make him a Lord of the Bedchamber, he took some time to consider his position and prospects. Sir James Graham advised him to accept the offer,

* He learnt, forty years afterwards, from Lord Aberdeen's private letters, that when his name was submitted for this appointment to the Queen, Her Majesty hesitated over it on the ground that "Lord Dufferin is much too good looking and captivating."

and to ask for an English peerage. The interview is noted in his Journal thus—

June 12, 1849.—"Waited upon Lord John in Downing Street, who, when I began to declare my readiness to follow him as my political leader, but that on politics my ideas were still floating, replied rather dryly that he did not want to know anything of my political opinions, and that as long as I continued out of Parliament I need not resign with a change of ministry. This was extraordinarily handsome upon his part. Feeling somewhat embarrassed, I did not say anything about the Peerage."

He felt diffident, in short, about making the request personally; but Sir James Graham, who was decidedly in favour of the Lords instead of the Commons for Lord Dufferin's political aspirations, counselled him to tell the Minister frankly in writing that he wished for an English peerage, that he had conclusively adopted Free Trade principles, and was prepared to support the policy of the Whig government. His letter received a courteous reply, and six months later Lord John wrote to him that the peerage would be granted. Nevertheless, the subjoined letter from Sir James Graham shows that even then he did not accept without some hesitation.

December 26, 1849.—"Your messenger has this moment arrived, bringing me your letter; and he presses for an immediate answer, being anxious to rejoin you.

"If I had not previously reflected on the question which you submit to me, or if I had any doubt in my own mind, I should pause before I ventured to give you any advice in a matter of so much importance.

"Lord John says that last year you announced to him your willingness to support the present government; and you will remember that I told you the

acceptance of the office which you hold in the Household of the Queen was an overt act of adherence, decisive in its character and binding as a pledge of political junction. According to my view therefore you have already taken the step which unites you to the Party of Lord John; and he is generous in promptly rewarding you, by granting the object of your legitimate ambition. I have always been most anxious that you should obtain an English peerage if it could be won with honour; and political union with Lord John Russell is an honourable and natural connexion when your friendships and relations, at least on your mother's side, are considered.

"Lord John is the Head of the Administration; Lord John is the person who has treated you with the greatest kindness: this obligation is personal to him, and I do not think that you will ever have reason to regret your consent to be his political follower.

"You ask me whether I would advise you to make any stipulation before accepting. I would on no account advise you to exhibit either misgiving or reserve. I would recommend you to accept the offer with cordial thanks, intimating that you feel the obligation which you owe to *him*, and expressing the confidence and the readiness with which you will support his government, inasmuch as you implicitly rely on his principles, his policy, and discretion. In a word, I see no danger in binding yourself to Lord John Russell as a follower. I should be more chary in expressing the opinion that it was safe to become pledged to the Whig Party if Lord John were no longer at its head.

"I have made exclusive mention of Lord John—I consider Lord Lansdowne identified with him; and it is with Lord Lansdowne more especially that you will come in contact in the House of Lords.

"In your answer to Lord John it may not be amiss to extend to Lord Lansdowne also the declaration of your political confidence and good will."

On January 31, 1850, he took his seat, as Baron Clandeboye of Clandeboye, in the House of Lords.

While the turning-points of his future career were thus being discussed and determined, Lord Dufferin had embarked on the high tide of social festivities: dining, dancing, masquerading, in official attendance at Court, going the round of race-meetings and country houses; making acquaintance in London with the notabilities of literature, politics, and the world of fashion.

The letters received by him in these years prove the affectionate regard of numerous friends, their enjoyment of his company and conversation, and the footing of pleasant intimacy on which he corresponded with them. Notes thanking him for wedding gifts, for verses to adorable ladies, or for kindly and generous help in trouble, allusions to delightful parties too soon ended, are mixed up with gratitude for charitable donations and liberal reductions of Irish rents, and with Presbyterian petitions against Papal aggression.

Lord Odo Russell writes to him—

August 28, 1850.—"I was delighted to find a letter from you on my return from Nuneham, expressing some anxiety about my spectacles. They are safe and at this moment on my nose. I hope you are satisfied with yours? What you say about the society you are living in sounds very delightful. Lady Constance, the Misses Ellis (Lucia and Di), belong also to those creations that awaken and heighten my admiration for nature whenever I gaze upon them;—but in a very different manner from the *Grus longi rostri* in the Zoological Gardens.

"This is the party I met at Nuneham, Lord and Lady Georgiana Grey, Lady Ely with two daughters and two nieces (Miss Dashwoods—very nice!), K.

Spencer, G. Vernon, Lord Dungarvon, etc., etc.—all very merry, but not in such boisterous spirits as the party I found there under your influence!"

In all this stir and glitter of amusement old acquaintance was never forgot.

Dr. Kitchin (now Dean of Durham) writes—

June 5, 1850.—"You have, I dare say, heard by this time that I have doubled my class. Christ Church and the Pythic and I rejoice together. I look on the Mathematical List with great astonishment, for I hardly thought I had done any one paper well, and certainly many answers which I sent in were meagre and slovenly.

"I have never had an opportunity of congratulating you on your seat in the Lords. I see you voted against the Bishop of London's Bill—and perhaps the House was right in rejecting it. I quite think that more might be done by the Ecclesiastics for the *discipline* of the Church; as for its doctrine I think the less fighting the better, and surely the Bishop's Bill would open a way to a great deal of noise, and *Odium Theologicum* is a real thing—though it is very humiliating to have to think so."

From Mr. Hepburn--

"What a chequered day was last Saturday to me! In the morning the pain of parting with my dearest ones—a few hours and I enjoyed such happiness with you—then those songs so sweet and so soothing—I said they were, but little I thought how much they would stand me in stead so soon when I wanted calm contentment. . . . How I dwelt upon all we had said and all I had heard and all I had seen while I was with you! and forcing myself again either into the armchair in your room or by the pianoforte I became calm. Oh, I did enjoy my visit to you, dear Dufferin, so very much—to find you quite the same (for I would not have you change in any way) was such a happiness

to me. Nor do I forget the kind welcome that your Mother gave me."

His way of life is annotated by the miscellaneous entries in his Journal—

"Saw Thackeray shaving! Breakfasted with the Bishop of Oxford; went down to the House of Lords to hear him speak, and was turned out of the gallery by the usher. Talked for some time with Gladstone. Had my head examined and was told that I had no political ambition. Talked to Sharman Crawford about tenant-right—Took a lesson in reel-dancing."

And so on from day to day, with a constant interchange of letters between him and his mother. She writes from Clifton in March 1849—

"I am glad the Queen observed you at the Levée. I think it is a sign she has heard you well spoken of, which is always a sweet-smelling sacrifice to my nostrils. I have removed from the hotel because, though very comfortable in other respects, they kicked up such remarkable noises over my head, under my feet, and on both sides of me, that I never got a wink of sleep there. I am now in possession of a tiny parlour in a small cottage, ground floor, with a broad, low sunny window. I rather enjoy this primitive parlour simplicity in my way of living. I have animated colloquies with the butcher and baker through my window, as, being on the ground floor, they naturally consider themselves on the same level, and persist in offering their gifts through the window to save me the trouble of answering the door. I vainly endeavour to look dignified through the window-pane. My menial situation is evident to them, and I continue to seem 'the housekeeper' to their philosophical eyes."

In August 1849 he was in Dublin to receive and

wait upon the Queen during the first visit that Her Majesty made to Ireland. On the day of the Queen's arrival he had gone to see Lord Breadalbane at a house near Kingstown—

"While we were waiting in his room which commanded the bay the Royal squadron suddenly sailed round the point. It was a beautiful sight, the sun was just setting behind the Wicklow mountains; there was not a ripple on the water, and thousands of people were crowding down upon the pier. Directly the yacht had entered the harbour the men-of-war started and manned their yards, the populace shouted, the drums played, the yachts hoisted all their colours; and I felt that it was a fine thing to be a Queen. She was standing upon deck amidst her children; and just behind her I could see Lady Jocelyn talking to Lord Fortescue, and then I felt as if it were a finer thing to be a Lord-in-waiting."

So even his loyalty fell behind his personal devotion, and he had his reward—

"In the evening while I was talking to Lady Jocelyn at Phœnix Lodge, she told me that the Queen had been laughing at my long hair, and afterwards I saw them talking together and looking toward me; and then the Queen sent Breadalbane to say that she would like me to be in waiting at the Levée next day."

All this and much more was written to his mother in a letter still redolent of youthful gaiety. He notes in his diary the Queen's embarcation on her return voyage from Kingstown harbour—"a very touching sight—the people shouting, 'When will you come back, darling?'" Thence he set off on a tour through the country, inspecting several estates, looking into cottages and workhouses, finding still great destitution and disease—the condition of the poorest class

being such that emigration seemed to him the only effective remedy—sojourning with various Irish magnates, and sleeping at one house in the dining-room *with a friend who "snored with a brogue."*

*The subjoined letter to Lady John Russell unin*tentionally places two very different impressions in strong contrast—

"I never witnessed so touching a sight as when the Queen from her quarter-deck took leave of the Irish people. It was a sweet, calm, silent evening, and the sun just setting behind the Wicklow mountains, bathed all things in golden floods of light. Upon the beach were crowded in thousands the screaming people full of love and devotion for her, her children, and her house, surging to and fro like some horrid sea, and asking her to come back quick to them, and bidding her God-speed. I do not like popular demonstrations of applause; generally speaking there is something terribly humiliating, I think, in the sight of an enthusiastic mob. It always reminds me somehow of the meanness and baseness of humanity, but this time I was neither shocked nor disgusted. It was a beautiful historical picture, and one which one thought of for a long time after Queen and ships and people had vanished away. I suspect that she too must have thought of it that night as she sat upon the deck, and sailed away into the darkness —and perhaps she wondered as she looked back upon the land which ever has been, and still is, the dwelling of so much wrong and misery, whether it should be written in history hereafter that in *her* reign, and under *her* auspices, Ireland first became prosperous and her people contented.

"Directly after the Queen's departure I started on a little tour round the west coast, which I had never before seen, and there I saw such sights as could be seen nowhere else. The scenery is beautiful and

wild, though the dampness of the climate makes it to me inexpressibly melancholy. Indeed, I would always prefer for a continued habitation to live among *golden cornfields, and green lanes, and sweet peaceful villages, rather than amidst the most stupendous* mountains the world possesses. But after one has been travelling for a little while in the far west, one soon loses all thought of the scenery, or the climate, or anything else, in astonishment at the condition of the people. I do most firmly believe that in no other country under the sun are there to be found men so wretched in every respect. To me it appears that their condition is hopeless. All along the west coast, from north to south, there has been allowed to accumulate on land utterly unable to support them a dense population, the only functions of whose lives have been to produce rent and children. Generation after generation has grown up in ignorance and misery, while those who lived upon the product of their labour have laughed and rioted through life, as though they had not known that from them alone could light and civilization descend upon these poor wretches. . . . Neither can any one living at a distance have any notion of the utter absence of all public spirit among the upper classes, and it is this that makes the case so hopeless. Legislation can do nothing when there is nothing for it to act upon. Parliament to Ireland is what a galvanic battery is to a dead body, and it is in vain to make laws when there is no machinery to work them. In fact, a people must be worked up to a certain point in their dispositions and understandings before they can be affected by highly civilized legislation, otherwise you fire your laws over their heads, and unless the postulates are already there all political calculations must be nonplussed. Now it is only individual exertions, and the personal superintendence of wise and good men, that can ever drill the Irish people into a legislateable state."

Against the glitter of Court festivities at Dublin this description of life in the west stands out in sombre relief; the Castle and the cottage are evidently far apart. In reading these letters one is much inclined to regret that the royal visit to Ireland could not have been extended, with Lord Dufferin still in waiting, beyond the sea-coast. There was no levity in the compassion that he always felt for the Irish people.

In November he was again in England, at Windsor; kissed the Queen's hand, and took in to dinner the Duchess of Kent. He played Patience with the Duke of Wellington, who told how one of his aides-de-camp asked him if he had ever seen Queen Elizabeth; shot creditably with Prince Albert, and of course revisited Eton more than once.

Lady Dufferin's letters add their usual zest and flavour to the mass of his correspondence with men and women of all sorts and conditions.

"I am writing to you on my knee from the steamboat on the Rhine. Big mountains are peeping into the window and looking over my shoulder to see what I am saying about them. . . . 'Du reste'—as the French Consul said of the Princess Esterhazy in writing her *signalement*, 'je n'ai que de charmantes choses à en dire'—for they are beautiful. Little towns and villages dressed up in vines are going by me like dreams. The waiter is rushing madly up and down the companion-ladder with fried potatoes in his hand. German students dressed in carpet-bags, pipes, and beards are lying upside down on all the benches, and the Rhine is roaring and rushing by us in full swing."

From another letter may be given, by way of contrast to the Rhine scenery, a sketch of her

environment taken from the parlour of a hotel at St. Leonards—

"I am now sitting in a sort of lanthorn parlour, furnished with black mohair sofas and chairs which I believe to be stuffed with shells from the beach. . . . There is a pleasant, low roar from the beach, suggestive of wrecks, and a light pattering of rain on my lanthorn windows, intimating wet for to-morrow, which is further confirmed by an ill-looking weather-glass outside the door, which has got down so low that I think the mercury will be under the necessity of turning head over heels and coming up on the other side, in order to attain fair-weather point again. I know nothing of the outside appearance of things, as it was dark when I arrived, and no moon has been seen on this coast for some weeks past. I can dimly make out the form of a policeman in an oilskin cape glistening in the gusty glare of a gas-lamp under the window, but I won't be certain it is not a post. There is a large dark mahogany sideboard with a diminutive cruet-stand staring in a ghastly fashion at me from the other end of my lanthorn, the curtains are of a dull sage green, the waiter squints, and Moody 'can't conceive whatever she could have gone and done with the key of my dressing-case.' With this climax of horrors I bid you good night, my darling. Take care of yourself, and oh! be careful out shooting."

Of one of their intimates she writes—

"The Fiend is departed; he fought us all round the evening before leaving, first about poor laws, and then about Prussia. We parted on the worst of terms, with mutual execrations, but remorse took possession of his black heart, I suppose, as I received soon after from an anonymous hand the gift of a frightful blue-velvet pincushion set in Tunbridge ware, which could have originated only from him."

And a letter written in 1849, upon hearing that an English peerage was promised to her son, contains a prediction that is a remarkable instance of Lady Dufferin's political foresight, at a time of popular agitation in England and abroad, when most people were prophesying that the rising flood of democracy would swamp the British Constitution. She is quite in favour of his joining the House of Lords, because—

"It is quite true that for the last forty or fifty years the House of Commons has been the great arena for such purposes and aims as yours; but the last forty or fifty years have been a grand blow out of liberal and progressive principles, such as the world absolutely needed, and demanded by its voice. I believe this present day to be a crisis brought about by the usual tendency of human events, and that the next forty or fifty years may prove in some measure reactionary in their course, in which case the House of Lords will necessarily play a more considerable part."

Next year he is at Paris, dining at a café with Count d'Orsay, Lord Brougham, and Alexandre Dumas, "noisy but amusing;" and in May he registers a dinner in London at Lady Ashburton's—"Peel, Carlyle, Ellice; Carlyle saying Sidney Smith had no humour, was coarse and like a Yorkshire innkeeper." There are several entries about the death of Sir R. Peel in July 1850 by a fall from his horse. When Lord Dufferin first called at the house to inquire, no hint of Sir R. Peel's danger was allowed to escape; but on the same day "Sir James Graham told me that Sir Robert, the night before his accident and on the following morning, seemed in bad spirits. Lady Peel came down to see him mount his horse, when he stooped down, threw his arms round her neck, and kissed her before all the servants." Peel died on



Lord Dufferin

from a London drawing by James Swinton

1850

July 2, and when Lord Dufferin was at Netherby in August, Sir James Graham showed him Sir Robert's last letter to him; and mentioned that in 1845 Lord Heytesbury wrote about the Irish famine to Peel and himself by the same post; and that they (Peel and Graham) immediately wrote to each other letters which crossed, each proposing a change in the Corn Laws.

He was now universally welcome at the balls and dinner-parties of the London season; a consummate dancer, and of infinite wit and vivacity in table talk; nor is it strange that temptations of this sort occasionally interfered with his Parliamentary duties. A kindly but pointed note from Lady John Russell warns him that his absence from several important divisions had been noticed by the Premier, to whom (as she reminds him) he had very recently professed the conviction that he could not serve his country better than by supporting the ministry. Upon this hint he appears to have bestirred himself; for in July 1850 he made his maiden speech in the House of Lords.

"Very nervous, and the silence chilled me. The Queen, however, as she was going to bed, asked me how my speech had gone off, saying she had heard it was very good."

In 1851 he was constantly on duty at Windsor ("Visited Lady Jocelyn in her room. Suddenly the Queen came in, and made me a low curtsey in fun"); and upon Lord John Russell's resignation in February 1851 Lord Dufferin's Journal gives the inner view of a grave political crisis—

February 22, 1851.—"Johnny, Aberdeen, and Sir James Graham met at Buckingham Palace at half-past nine. Saw Sir James at seven, very grave.

Johnny did nothing all day but sing 'The Queen of Hearts, she made some tarts,' very unhappy because he could not remember the rest. To Lady Palmerston's in the evening, and to White's; everybody chattering and asking for news. The Queen has evidently discouraged Stanley."

Lord Stanley was unable to form a Ministry, and Lord John Russell resumed office in March. In August, when Parliament was prorogued, Lord Dufferin started for a tour on the continent, travelling through Belgium to Cologne, down the Rhine to Baden, and thence by Munich and the Tyrol over the Stelvio Pass into Italy.

"Milan" (he writes to Sir James Graham) "is at this moment no very cheerful spectacle. Its streets absolutely overflow with foreign soldiery, Croats, Tyrolese, and Austrians. Many of its palaces, confiscated in 1848, its club house and some of its churches, have been turned into barracks; its theatre is almost deserted: and all the people breathe nothing but hatred towards the alien occupiers of their town. The government are frightfully severe, enforcing martial law in its utmost rigour, and seem determined not to allow themselves to be turned out a second time."

Turned out, however, the Austrians were, within eight years from that time. Lord Dufferin went on to Venice, whence he writes to Lady John Russell—

"Venice is little better (than Milan), its beautiful place of St. Mark is disfigured with cannon and piebald sentry boxes, while dotted over the lagoon are a quantity of guardships with 42-pounders pointed at the Doge's palace. This very morning there have been commenced the foundations of a new fortress at St. Giorgio, which is to contain I know not how

many guns, and will, when an opportunity occurs, be able to knock down the entire city in half an hour. A fortress at Venice, moreover, *can* have but one meaning, and whenever it shall rise glistening and blinking out of the water, in the midst of the grey-headed old palaces, no one will mistake it for anything but the dragon that guards the captive maiden of the sea. St. Mark's brazen horses have indeed been bridled. Nevertheless, it is owing entirely to the Austrians that Venice is at all extant, for had it not been for the Government, who have made it a free port, and have peremptorily forbidden the proprietors of the old palaces to pull them down for the purpose of employing the materials in new erections, the whole place, as Byron says, would have sunk like sea-weed to the place from whence it rose."

He journeyed on by Florence to Rome, where he halted some time, had a long interview with the Pope ("most gracious: I told him the truth about Ireland"), and conversed with Manning, "most charming and gentle," but much subdued in mind and manner—"one can scarcely believe one is talking to the author of those vigorous burning sermons."

In 1890, when he was ambassador at Rome, and Manning was a cardinal, Lord Dufferin wrote to him—

"It is a long time since we have met, but when I came to Rome perhaps my most vivid association connected with the place was a walk I took with your Eminence some thirty-five * years ago along the banks of the Tiber."

Lady Wantage, who knew him well in Italy at this time, has written—

"My earliest recollections of Lord Dufferin are at Venice in the autumn of 1851, when he and Lord

* Thirty-nine (?).

Gifford appeared on the Grand Canal in a small indiarubber boat, or rather tub, which freak on the part of the two mad young Englishmen caused much excitement among the people, accustomed to the calm dignity of gondolas.

"In the winter of the same year he was at Rome, entering eagerly into the interests and pleasures of the Eternal City, and forming one of a group of young Englishmen, enthusiasts in the pursuit of art, among whom were besides himself Lord Gifford, Sir Coutts Lindsay, and Herbert Wilson. Then I first knew his mother Lady Dufferin, and young as I was, her beauty, her charm of manner, the sparkling brilliancy of her talk (and her kindliness towards myself), made a strong impression on me. She and her son lived in a square white house, that stood alone, above the steps leading up to the 'Trinita di Monte' and commanding from all sides glorious views over the city.

"The cosmopolitan society of Rome that winter was singularly varied and brilliant. English beauty was represented by Colonel Mure's stately daughter (afterwards Lady Ribblesdale) and by Miss Lindsay, daughter of General James Lindsay of Balcarres, whose graceful figure rose like a slender, flower-crowned lily stalk amid other flowers of gaudier hue. She was the embodiment of all that is tender and pure in womanhood, and Lord Dufferin felt the spell of her charm and the attraction of her singing. But when spring came on they each departed and went their ways, to meet in after-days as old friends, with perhaps some halo of Roman memories."

Lord Dufferin was in England again by the beginning of 1852, and for the next two years his diary records innumerable social engagements, yachting voyages, visits to Ireland, hasty memoranda of where he went and what he did, with notes of his reading and painting. He dedicated a Latin poem in rhyme

to one of the ladies whom he was just then adoring, and of course sent it also to his mother, who "thought your monkish ditty very pretty—I hope the Egregious Virgin was pleased with it."

Here are a few lines that light up again for a moment a brilliant scene at Lady Constance Sutherland Gower's marriage with her cousin, Lord Grosvenor, more than fifty years ago. The wedding breakfast was given in the gallery at Stafford House. He writes—

"Babylon itself could have hardly shown, in the days of her glory, such a beautiful picture as the staircase of Stafford House when the marriage party came streaming down like a beautiful torrent of lace and laughing faces, and sweeping gowns, and then dispersed in a hundred little channels at the bottom, while in and out, amid them all, ran half a dozen children, who seemed to have been borrowed for the occasion from fairy-land." *

The references to politics and the course of public events are scanty, yet he was much in the society of leading statesmen, and the events of 1852 were of exciting importance abroad and at home. In December 1851 Louis Napoleon had destroyed the French Republic, and Lord Palmerston's unauthorized approval of this *coup d'état* had brought about his dismissal from the Foreign Secretaryship by Lord John Russell. The Prime Minister defended this act of authority in a brilliant speech; and Lord Dufferin wrote—

"Nothing could have been more triumphant and creditable both to Lord John and the Queen than the result of the explanation between him and Lord Palmerston, who seems to have treated everybody

* Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower's pleasant "Reminiscences" (among the earliest) commemorate this wedding.

very cavalierly, and to have done everything that was most injudicious. His defence was very coldly received by the House of Commons, and he seemed to me to be dispirited and full of misgivings. Lord John was very much cheered, and Sir James Graham says he never saw any ministry open a session so creditably. . . . Palmerston is completely floored, and people seem to think he is not likely to rise again."

Within one week after this was written (February 1852) Lord Palmerston had completely floored Lord John Russell, who was beaten on Palmerston's amendment to the Militia Bill, when the whole ministry resigned. News of Lord John Russell's defeat had reached Lord Dufferin while at dinner with Sir James Graham, and he wrote to his mother—

"At last we (*i.e.* the Government) are out.* The *coup de grâce* was given on Friday night by Lord Palmerston carrying with a majority of twelve, I think, an amendment on the Government Bill, by which the local militia they proposed, was to be transformed into a regular and more organized one.

"With what has happened we have no reason, I think, to be dissatisfied. That we could not keep in was certain, that a break up of the party would tend to its better organization was also certain. Having to fall, the only matter for anxiety was that we should fall well, and this we certainly have done. No defeat of a Government has ever been less of a triumph to an opposite party, for they owed it to an outcast member of that Government, in whose dismissal, however, from office, the country was forced by its sense of justice to coincide. Even to Lord Palmerston himself but little glory is likely to accrue, notwithstanding the dramatic character of the event. The question in dispute was a matter of but secondary importance, in which perhaps his view was the sounder of the

* February 23, 1852.

two, yet from the uncourteous and unusual manner he forced this view upon him, Lord John could take no other course than that he did, which at the same time was the one most suited to his own interests, and least calculated upon by his successor. However, we have been beaten out at the end of a long struggle, but more by an accident, we have slipped into extinction, for our people had no notion what was going on, the house was very thin, and the unruly men who voted against us had but little notion where their vote would leave them. Finally Lord John's reputation as a leader, statesman, and speaker, has more increased upon the public estimation within the last three weeks, than ever it has done before. His triumph over Palmerston was complete, and the world was reminded of his energy and courage—his subsequent tactics were most adroit, single-handed he fought the entire battle, in spite of the ill will, old age, and unpopular mistakes of his colleagues, scarcely one of whom had not committed some error, the effect of which *he* had to prevent, and at last, the very night before his surrender of office, he made in defence of his absent Lord Lieutenant one of his most gallant, generous, and successful speeches, the House of Commons ever listened to. Even his enemies were carried away by it, and an expected defeat was turned into a majority of sixty. However, it is almost certain that by his opportune and premature death last Friday, he has saved Grey from an impending vote of censure, and thus preserved the Colonial Secretary's political existence which otherwise would have been cut off."

A Conservative government under Lord Derby's premiership succeeded to office. Upon this we have the following letter to Lady Dufferin :—

"I conclude that you will have seen by the papers the list of the new officials. It is but a sorry array of names, and the subject of many disrespectful jokes at the clubs. Sir J. Pakington's is the appointment

most cavilled at, and certainly no one has been more taken aback by it than Sir John himself. I met him yesterday and congratulated him, but he was very meek and humble on the subject, and though of course highly elated, spoke in terms of great misgiving as to his probable success. Johnny his son, my friend, is to be his private secretary, and talks of coming into Parliament. I am glad of his good fortune—for he was in great need of occupation, the amusement of his marriage having begun to wear off.

"*My* great hope is that at length Sir James will openly join Johnny, and unite with him in Opposition. That this would ultimately take place has been my firm belief for the last three years, but at the same time, so much of my own individual comfort depended on it that until it should be irretrievably settled, I could not help being full of anxiety. If by any unforeseen accident, these two great luminaries (which *now* I trust has become out of the question) should fly off into different hemispheres, I should certainly be scattered like dust upon the winds, for notwithstanding my love and veneration for Sir James, I should never have consented (had his kindness tempted me ever so much) to desert Johnny; at the same time, to have suddenly found myself in opposition to him would have been so painful, that I think I should have cut the whole concern for some years. A day or two must, however, determine this point for good, and if it is decided in the manner I hope and expect, there will be few happier hearts in this world than mine, as far as political influences are concerned."

To Sir James Graham he wrote a month later—

"Ever since the reassembling of Parliament I have been in town, and very disagreeable it has been, nothing but the bitterest winds, and the political atmosphere not much more genial. Indeed, at this very moment, it seems to me we are in a peck of troubles, everybody scolding Johnny, Palmerston

most impudent and triumphant, the Whigs ill-tempered and insubordinate, the Cabinet divided, Johnny intractable, and our party tactics in the completest confusion.

"In fact, I suspect there is a great attempt being made to throw the little ex-premier overboard, and that some of the honestest of his friends are unconsciously lending their hands to help."

The letter reflects, in fact, the general outcry against Lord John Russell's mistakes and inconsistency that arose among his own party, when he voted against the Militia Bill that had been introduced by the Tories, whereby he separated himself from some of his leading colleagues, and spread further disarray in the ranks of his followers.

"Last night at dinner" (Lady Dufferin writes to him) "I sat between Sir W. Temple and Lord Holland, and heard them abuse Johnny across me, whereat I maintained dignified silence."

Lord Dufferin has jotted down the heads of a subsequent conversation, in May, with Graham on the causes and circumstances that determined the Liberal Ministry's decline to that memorable fall, which marks, according to Sir Spencer Walpole, "a distinct epoch in the political history of England."* Sir James Graham told him—

"That Morpeth dates the decadence from the Durham letter and the Papal aggression Bill.

"That the new Reform Bill was the key of the discontent in the Cabinet.

"That Johnny ought not to have pledged himself to it, as the country did not want it; but that having done so, it was necessary to make disfranchisement a principal element.

* "History of England," vol. v. p. 34 (1886).

"That when Johnny made overtures to him he had intimated this opinion.

"That Lord Lansdowne and Seymour objected to disfranchisement, and others in the Cabinet.

"That Johnny suffered himself to be overruled, and thus became responsible for a Reform Bill he himself did not approve of.

"That, in the same manner, he let a Militia Bill be forced upon him by Lord Palmerston, although he himself did not approve of it.

"That after Palmerston's quarrel with him, and his experience of the ill favour a Reform Bill, spoilt by his colleagues, met with at the hands of the country, Johnny determined to break up a Cabinet which had become intractable, and had got him into these scrapes.

"That in voting against a Militia Bill, he merely expressed his sincere convictions, his own Militia Bill being Lord Palmerston's handiwork, and *not* his.

"That he thinks Johnny has undoubtedly made great mistakes, but was in the main right.

"That with regard to Disraeli's speech on the Budget, he (Disraeli) had in the Cabinet proposed a speech quite in a Protectionist sense, saying that it was 'a risk,' 'a bold game,' etc., 'but that he was ready to play it;' that Herries, who was jealous of him, objected, and said it would be better to go on the other tack, let things be, and not go back yet to Protection. That Dizzy agreed, said 'he thought he could make a pretty good speech in that sense.' That he came down, and spoke his remarkable oration, to the dismay of all his supporters."

His mother writes to him acknowledging the receipt of a speech made in Belfast, and pronouncing it admirable in arrangement and expression.

A brief note from the Duke of Argyll, after returning from a flying visit to Clandeboye in September 1852, says—

"I look back and say within myself 'The barbarous people treated us with no little kindness on yon wild Island.' . . .

"What droll people you Paddies are! We had made a comfortable seat for Her Grace on a long tarpaulined package on deck when our servant came up and whispered that it would perhaps be better not to sit upon it, and on asking why, I was told it was a coffin with a body!

"Clandeboye dwells on our memories as a green spot across a blue sea, and white sails flapping *not* idly near. Lay me down in imagination at your mother's feet."

November 11.—"At 2 p.m. to see opening of Parliament. Lord Stanley gave up Protection with great appearance of frankness."

12*th*.—"Went to see the Duke of Wellington lying in State. A dreadful crowd. Though many things shock one, yet grand and impressive. Dined at Dr. Holland's. Two women crushed to death or smothered to death at the lying in State. Lunched with the Staffords."

At four o'clock in the morning of December 17 Disraeli's Budget was rejected by the House of Commons; and in the afternoon of that day

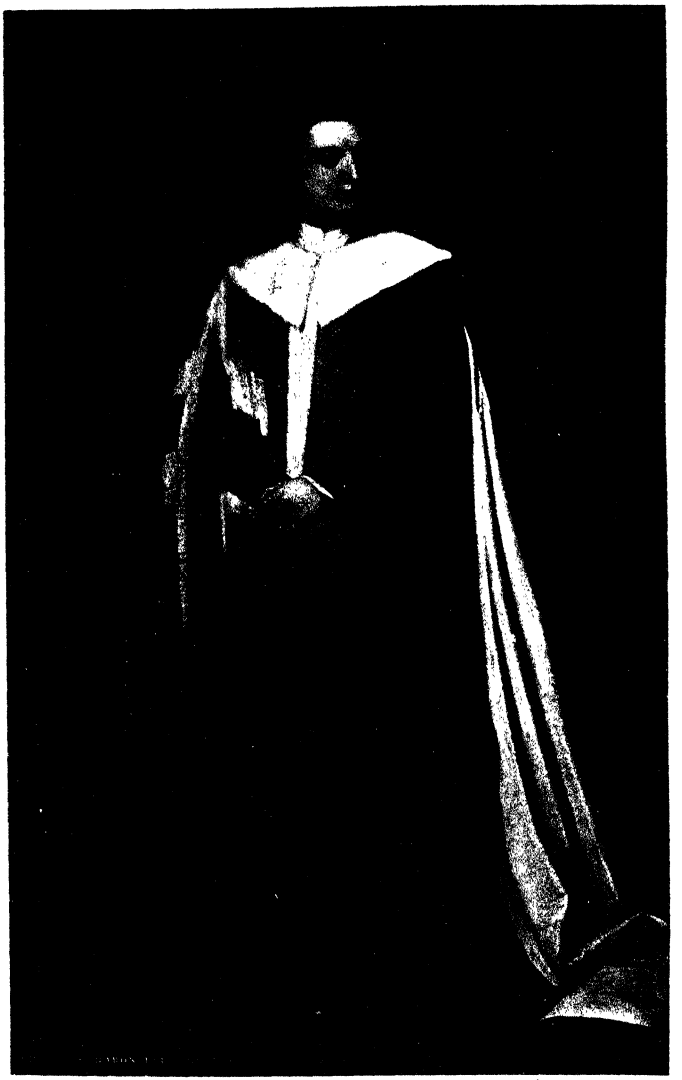
"when we and half a dozen Whig magnificos were chatting on the railway platform, Lord Derby bounced in among us, to his evident disgust, on his way to Osborne to resign."

Unluckily Lord Dufferin's journal was evidently intended to be no more than a diary, with the briefest memoranda of public events and private engagements, all entered in the same rapid fashion, the hasty notes of one whose hours were overfull. And upon the whole the diary of those years (1852–55) reflects singularly little of a life that was full of opportunities for a man who could so well observe and describe, who

was in almost daily intercourse with the leading statesmen of the time, had large access to the sources of information, and was living at the centre of politics and society during a very interesting period. Nevertheless, the subjoined letter from Lady Dufferin to her aunt (April 1853) shows that he had not been wasting his time—

"I know you will be really glad to hear that last night our Frederick made a brilliant speech in the House of Lords on the Maynooth question; that he was excessively cheered, and listened to with the most flattering attention, and that this morning (in addition to many pleasant congratulatory notes and visits) Lord Aberdeen thanked him formally in the most flattering manner for his 'admirable speech,' and added 'that the Government had reason to be greatly obliged to him.' Is this not gratifying (when we consider how young he is in politics) to have the Premier make so pleasant an admission? It has made me very conceited, as you may imagine, and I am in hopes that you will also share my pride. He spoke for nearly three-quarters of an hour with great spirit and eloquence, and the six Lords who followed him (on both sides of the House) each made mention of his speech and complimented him on the ability he had shown. Indeed, the Bishop of London (who rose indeed to anathematize him) was the most complimentary of all, and said that 'he had not intended to speak at all on this question,' but felt himself called upon to answer Frederick's arguments, which, in my private opinion, of course he did not satisfactorily do."

Moreover, the management of his own estate, and the improvement of Irish land-tenures in general, were the subjects continually uppermost in his mind. To the "Lady of Lorne" he writes, in November 1853, from Clandeboye—



Lord Dufferin and Clandeboye 1859
from the picture by Lenbach

"Here I am, *home, home*—amid drenched fields, leafless bushes, and a misty mockery of a park, which nevertheless, against my better reason, I cannot help loving better than any place in the world."

And to his mother in February 1854—

"Although working so hard at my poem, I still found time to concoct during the autumn a Bill on Tenant Right. This I have just submitted to Sir James Graham, and contrary to everything that I dared to hope, he has assured me, that of all the bills drawn up on the subject, mine is the best, and that there is no doubt but that I shall earn great credit by introducing it into the House of Lords."

Poetry and politics were at this moment contending for dominion over him; he was like Garrick between Tragedy and Comedy in Sir Joshua's famous picture—

"Should my Bill succeed in giving satisfaction, I shall certainly feel very proud,—as the difficulty with which it is intended to cope is one that has puzzled many longer heads than mine, and remained for years the great impediment in Ireland. At the same time I cannot reconcile myself so easily as you wish to the thought of discontinuing my poem. I have never thought otherwise than you yourself, with regard to what the *main* employment of my life should be—hitherto all my studies have been chosen with the view of fitting myself for public life. . . . But in the first place, political distinction is of very slow growth, and only the result of a life of great drudgery and constant application, and hitherto I have not had the health to stand such discipline, and it is very certain, and the sooner we both make up our minds to it the better, that unless an almost miraculous change in my constitution takes place, I can never hope to

become either a distinguished or successful statesman.

"However this may be, I cannot conquer my desire to write while I am still young, and the world indulgent, *not a great poem*, which I know I could *never* do, but one little volume of good poetry, and this I feel as if I *could* do."

No such volume ever appeared; it was possibly extinguished by Lady Dufferin's criticism; and politics triumphed. On the last day of February Lord Dufferin spoke in the House of Lords on the second reading of the Bill for regulating the relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland, he also laid on the table his own Bill for providing compensation for improvements made by tenants. Long before this time he had convinced himself that the operation of the Ulster Tenant Right custom had become injurious to all parties by the abuses which had grown up under a system that had been originally beneficial. Under this system, as is well known, the outgoing tenant was entitled to sell to the incoming tenant what was termed his interest in the farm—to demand a price for the value of the permanent improvements that he had made, without having had time to repay himself for the outlay, and of which the new tenant would enjoy the profit. The bargain, thus stated, was fair enough. But the competition for farms had become so intense that the "goodwill" and residuary interest were often bought up by the highest bidder, at a rate far above a farm's real value. The incoming tenant had thus paid a price which left him overburdened with debt at heavy interest in addition to the landlord's rent; he began with insolvency and gradually fell into impoverishment. It was this mischief that Lord Dufferin's Bill was designed to remedy,

by providing a legal scale of compensation for improvements, calculated on the principle that the value of these improvements diminished by effusion of time, and that the longer had been the tenure of a holding the less could the outgoing tenant demand. He showed that the existing system broke down completely in Ulster under the famine of 1845–46, when the potato crop failed, and the tenants were overwhelmed by the double charge of rent and interest.

The Bill did not succeed; but Mr. Barry O'Brien, in his retrospect over the course of Irish administration, observes that Lord Dufferin's speech in 1854 had not received the attention that it deserved; for he had been one of the foremost to declare that the relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland were "almost of a barbarous character;" and he had refused to admit that they could be regulated by free contract. Nevertheless, in 1860 Lord Palmerston's government passed an Act laying down the principle that these relations must be based on contract; and the conclusion stated by H. S. Maine, in his treatise on Ancient Law (1861), "that the movement of progressive societies has hitherto been a movement from status to contract," may be taken as embodying the general theory prevalent at that time in regard to legislation for Irish land-tenures. Political economy, treated as an exact science of infallible demonstration, still held its ascendency, and free trade in land was the remedy accepted by our statesmen for curing agrarian troubles in Ireland. As a matter of fact, in the two countries where the British government has been forced to deal with land-tenures on a large and important scale, in Ireland and India, the legislative movement has taken a direction contrary to Maine's proposition. In Ireland, at any

rate, the application of this doctrine made no progress, but only threw society backward into greater confusion; the tenants were alarmed by ejectments, and agitation against the landlords increased. Ten years later, when Mr. Gladstone's Irish Land Bill was before the Lords in 1870, Lord Dufferin was able to remind the House that in 1854 he had proposed a measure by which the tenants would have been invested with a retrospective right to their improvements, under conditions almost identical with those adopted in the law that was then passing, to which he gave his cordial assent.

SECTION II.

THE BALTIC AND HIGH LATITUDES.

In 1854 the scene changes, and the Journal at once expands when it becomes the log-book of Lord Dufferin's first adventurous voyage, for he was eminently one who delighted in the sea, and who was made to take his pastime thereon. The Crimean war had begun, and after the usual round of London dinners and dances, Lord Dufferin sailed from Portsmouth in his yacht, the *Foam*, with Lord Arthur Russell and others, for the Baltic. The diary describes in some detail the course and incidents of the voyage, as, after touching at Calais, they ran up the North Sea to Gothenburg on the coast of Sweden; until in the first days of August they sighted the English and French fleets anchored off Aland island in the Baltic Sea, just when the attack of Bomarsund, a fort on that island, was impending. The party from the *Foam* went on board the *Duke of Wellington* (Admiral Napier's flagship), where almost

all the captains of the English fleet were assembled. On the sea, and surrounded by men of action, Lord Dufferin found his congenial element, and the diary begins to glow with warmth and colour.

"The whole scene" (he writes) "was very exciting and interesting. The splendid fleet, full of motion, music, piping, and hoarse boatswains' voices. Barges skimming about in all directions, with their captains' flags flying astern; while every now and then 'boom' went the report of some huge gun from a seventy-four practising her men at the target. Unfortunately she was also practising her rifles, and as now and then some crooked-eyed fellow tried his hand, whiz went the ball past our noses. . . . A beautiful sunset, which I saw from the stern gallery, sitting on a sofa beside the old admiral."

Lord Dufferin wrote for the *Cornhill Magazine* (November, 1898) a spirited description of the siege of Bomarsund as seen from the deck of the *Foam*, which is largely transcribed from his Journal. Like many imaginative men (of whom Goethe was one), he was evidently anxious to try the effect of inoculation with the war-fever, to test himself in situations that string up human energies to their highest tone, to witness the reality of what every one reads about, and to feel the sensation of being actually under fire. When, therefore, Sir Charles Napier, who was not the man to baulk him, asked him whether he had a wish to see a shot pass over him, Lord Dufferin closed with the proposal and went on board the *Penelope*, a ship that was ordered to run within range of a Russian battery, for the purpose of ascertaining whether it was effectively armed. The *Penelope* not only drew the enemy's fire, but her crew were so busy watching the shots that she was not stopped before

she grounded on a rock, and Lord Dufferin passed two hours in perilous exposure, until the captain very properly insisted on his leaving the ship, several men having been killed on deck near him.

"I entreated him to let me stay. Though staggered by my earnestness, he still persisted, and as it was no time to complicate his troubles or occupy his attention, I at length consented to go upon his offering to give me a written order to retire out of fire."

He was taken on board the *Hecla*, where "pretty much the same scene was going on, shot every now and then striking her, or splashing in among the crowds of boats collected between the two ships. I had just gone forward for a better view, when smash comes a round shot, striking the deck close by the starboard great gun, and covering me with a hail of splinters. The men were very angry at being exposed to fire in this way, and cursed Sir Charles for not covering them with one of his big block-ships." At last the *Penelope* heaved her guns overboard and got off, after having been a target for the enemy during nearly four hours—apparently a somewhat rash and maladroit manœuvre that must have procured for both the Admiral and Lord Dufferin rather more information and experience than they desired.

Next day the captains of the *Penelope* and the *Hecla* both wrote to Lord Dufferin—the former to "make my peace for so unceremoniously ordering you out of the ship. . . . I told the Admiral I had never seen more pluck in my life, and that your persuasive powers almost prevailed against my better judgment;" the latter "to assure him with how much satisfaction he had witnessed Lord Dufferin's coolness and presence of mind while on board the *Hecla*, when exposed to the galling fire of the enemy's batteries."

Not yet content, however, with this trial of his nerves, Lord Dufferin joined a party to visit the trenches of the French army investing Bomarsund.

"It was a lovely sunshiny morning; the air was loaded with the wholesome smell of the pine woods which clothed the valleys; and as we passed upward through the heathery, rock-strewn slopes, wild flowers, butterflies, the hum of bees, and the odour of the sweet-scented shrubs, encompassed us with a sense of peace and beauty which contrasted strangely with the violence of the drama in which we were about to engage.

"We started and met a French surgeon, who advised us to keep near the hillside, as the fire from the fort was hot, and a man had just had his arm carried away. Proceeding a little further, 'Bang! boom,' went two shots over our heads into the marsh. On we went, however, finding parties of French soldiers in every little cleft of the broken surface, until we arrived at the trenches. Here we stopped to breathe and chaff the soldiers;—shot, shell, and grape whizzing every now and then over our heads, and everybody laughing beneath. Thence to the French battery, composed of five mortars, protected by bastions of sand bags. In order to reach this place we had to wait until we heard the shot fired, and then run before they had time to load again."

They slipped across from battery to battery, running the gauntlet of fire in the open intervals; and finally, seeing a white flag hoisted on the fort, they walked straight up to the gate, were sharply ordered back by a Russian officer, who cried to them that the place had not yet surrendered, and regained cover under a satisfactory shower of balls and bullets. Men of Lord Dufferin's temperament like to brace up their nerves to the full pitch of such military music; yet one

cannot but conclude that there was a strain of recklessness, almost foolhardiness, in hazarding so many chances of quieting them for ever. When the fort did surrender, he entered it with the French troops—and found himself in an oval courtyard, in which were crowded 1800 Russian soldiers, fine men enough, but their odour exceedingly powerful.

"The loss" (he wrote) "on either side was insignificant. As for the Russians, I believe scarcely a man was slain; and to us as much damage was done by our own weapons as by anything else. One night two French regiments mistook each other and fired on their friends; the noise awoke the enemy, who joined in the chorus, with the result of two or three killed and some wounded."

Lord Dufferin prevailed on the French admiral, who was there in naval command, to let him carry off "two beautiful field-pieces," but the French general intercepted them, and there was an awkward controversy between the two chiefs, until Lord Dufferin, always an adept at persuasion, eventually induced the military commandant to relent. Next day the yacht left Bomarsund, touched at Stockholm, and after a month's sailing the party landed triumphantly at Dunrobin on the coast of Scotland, with the field-pieces and a young walrus that Lord Dufferin had bought on his homeward route. The narrative, as given in his Journal, brings out into strong relief Lord Dufferin's active, enterprising character, his delight in the variety and contrasts of life, his eagerness to make the most of opportunities, to see and feel whatever might be stirring in the world around him. He had planned another voyage to the Crimea, where the most famous siege of modern times had just opened,

but he was compelled to abandon this project by a sharp attack of fever, from which he had barely recovered at the year's end.

In a letter of December 1854, from Clandeboye, to the Duchess of Argyll, Lord Dufferin describes his convalescence—

"Like a crescent moon I am daily gathering strength, though still with the uncomfortable peaky appearance of that planet in its infancy—very much scooped out in the middle, and not quite so straight in the back as might be wished. My life is of an antediluvian simplicity, getting up at six, a candle-light breakfast, dinner at one, and to bed at nine; my outdoor employment is the planting of trees; the rest of the day I devote to drawing, business, and the brushing up of my Greek which was becoming rusty. . . . I have written three or four more poems while I was in bed; but my mother, who can do so much better herself, rather discourages me by the little heed she has to such gear."

His mother, writing to him during his temporary absence from home, says—

"I don't feel quite happy about your skating, in spite of your protestations of discretion and care; it is a horrid amusement, it must make your nose blue and may crack your skull, besides the chances of drowning. We have had two clever professors from the 'Godless College' at Belfast staying with us last night, one had a wife with him to take care of him, but the other being defenceless was instantly spiflicated by Caroline,* whom we set at him (having

* Mrs. Norton. "The figure of 'Justice' in the House of Lords by Maclise, is an exact portrait of Mrs. Norton taken from life. I think I showed you the original in oils. The dress in the fresco and in the picture is identical, but in the latter her hand is resting on a harp, whereas in the House of Lords she is holding a balance."—Letter from Lord Dufferin to Dr. Richard Garnett, September 10, 1894.

no other way of amusing him) with permission to do her worst! The poor man was bowled over like a rabbit before he knew where he was, and is gone home in a frenzy of admiration of that 'remarkable woman.'

"I have taken advantage of Kennedy's temporary absence to make a raid into your room, and have taken thence two volumes which belong to me! It is pity that men do not perceive what little advantage they gain by 'violent and roguish havings.' *De male quæsitis vix gaudet tertius hæres.* . . . Austin defines covetousness '*quarum libet inhonestam et insatiabilem cupiditatem.*' Chrysostom calleth it a 'madness of the soul;' Gregory, 'a torture;' Budæus, 'an ill habit;' Talleyrandus, the French philosopher, 'un défaut;' Samuel Oxfordiensis, 'a custom to be avoided or concealed.' When these many and great authorities all set their faces against the practice of appropriating other men's effects, why *o puercule mi* do you persist in cribbing my Burton? But this time I have got it safe at the bottom of my deepest imperial, and force alone shall deprive me of it. You may observe that its sudden return into my possession has somewhat coloured my style."

Lord Dufferin was able to be again in London by the year 1855, which opened with another ministerial crisis. Lord John Russell threw up his office, and threw over his colleagues, on the ground that he could not resist Roebuck's motion for an inquiry into the conduct of the Crimean war. His withdrawal dislocated the Coalition government. Lord Aberdeen resigned, and when Lord Palmerston became Premier, he deputed Lord John Russell, who had rejoined the Ministry as Colonial Secretary, to Vienna as England's representative at a conference of the four Powers, England, France, Austria, and Prussia, for arranging terms of peace with Russia. How these official

changes might affect her son was naturally Lady Dufferin's chief solicitude. She writes from Ireland in February—

"I see by the Northern Whig's telegraphic news that Pam thrones it on Olympus, as was expected. I hardly know how this will influence your movements, and do not like to offer an opinion about your staying in or going out, as you will judge best for yourself. Of course you will do nothing immediately. Any step that would seem to identify your views with Johnnie's, if he is decidedly in the wrong, would be unwise, but wherever the highest moral principles are not at stake, the next best is gratitude, and we certainly owe that to the little man. So many good Whigs belonging to the new government makes me look upon his conduct as fishy, but a woman is no judge of political hearts."

Again (February 26, 1855), on the ministerial changes and complications—

"We have been in a state of great chaos since you went: the Ministry *en l'air* caused a thick yellow fog, which was a type of our mental obscurity as well. I went to the Olympic Pam's on Saturday, and found all England sitting with its hair on end and its mouths open waiting for events. This desire was satisfied in the course of the evening by the news of Lord John's acceptance of office per telegraph."

Lord Dufferin notes in his diary—"Wrote to Johnny offering to resign [the Lordship in waiting], if pleasing to him. He replied, 'Stay in office and support Palmerston;'" and within a few days, when Lord John had been appointed to the Vienna Conference, he invited Lord Dufferin to accompany him as an *attaché* to his mission. The offer was accepted; and on February 20 they crossed the

Channel ("Lord John with boxing-gloves on his feet") for Paris, whence, after some days' stay, they travelled to Berlin—"a miserable place, so dreary and cold." Here they heard that the Emperor Nicholas was dead, were presented to royalties and ministers, but soon discovered that the Prussian king would do nothing that might embroil him with Russia; so they departed for Vienna. In his diary for the seven weeks during which this inconclusive conference went on, Lord Dufferin is so discreet that only by a few casual allusions to the copying of despatches (he copied at least a hundred of them) are we reminded that he was among statesmen and diplomatists of the first order in Europe engaged in very critical negociations. And here again one is disposed to regret that while his vivid impressions of travel, of Arctic voyages and Baltic bombardments, are so effectively and fully rendered, he does not appear, at this time of his life, to have cared about storing up and setting down those recollections of important transactions, the impressions made by the characteristics or conversation of notable personages, in the clashing of international interests over the question of peace and war at Vienna, which a man with his acute perception and ready pen, who must have seen and known so much that went on around him, might have been expected to preserve.

A letter from Lady Dufferin anticipates the outcome of the negociations—

"Yesterday there was a report all over the town that your conferences were broken up, and that Lord John, etc., were all on their way home with their tails between their legs. . . . I dined last night at the Ashburtons, the repast was flattish. B. Stanley was like Samson just after shaving, much subdued and saddened by a cold in his head, so that the Philistines

had much the best of it. . . . Clanricarde attended the Levée; . . . the Queen received him much as usual."

Finally, on the failure of all attempts to bring the four Powers into an agreement upon any terms of peace that Russia could entertain, the French and English envoys returned home with a private understanding to support a compromise that had been proposed by Austria. But Lord John Russell subsequently made a speech in Parliament against the proposals that he had pledged himself to recommend, and diplomatic remonstrances led to his retirement from office.

After returning from Vienna, Lord Dufferin seems to have resumed his usual way of life at home, much occupied with the improvement of his Irish estate, planting long avenues and enlarging the house at Clandeboye, taking his pleasure in London, and greatly appreciated at Court, where he was still in waiting, though he had desired to resign.

"The other day" (he wrote to his mother) "I took advantage of Lord Aberdeen's being at the Castle to talk to him on the subject, as it had been he who appointed me, and he kindly undertook to mention my wish to the Prince. The result was a message from the Prince to the effect that such a step would annoy the Queen very much, that they were both very anxious to keep me, and that independently of every other consideration, my quitting the Court so immediately after Lord Somers' secession would leave a very disagreeable impression on the mind of the public."

Dining at Windsor in February 1856—

"I told the Queen about the man who leapt 21 feet. Nobody believed it. I said I had leapt 15.

The Prince said, 'That is as far as the end of the table from Miss Bulteel.' 'If, sir,' said I, 'Miss Bulteel were on the other side, I could leap a foot further.'"

Yet he was certainly not one of those men for whom amusements are a serious occupation, or who find easy pleasures satisfactory. England was not so dull an island as Ithaca, nevertheless, like Ulysses, Lord Dufferin could not rest from travel, and heard the call of the sea. So in June 1856 he set off "to sail beyond the sunset" into the Arctic north, on his yacht the *Foam*, with a bronze likeness of the Duchess of Argyll, by Marochetti, as her figure-head. The story of this voyage has been brilliantly told in his "Letters from High Latitudes," a book which has had a large and prolonged circulation, running through many editions. Nevertheless, for the purpose of maintaining continuity in this biography, some very brief epitome of his adventures may be admissible. And since the letters were first published nearly fifty years agone, it may be worth while to remind the present generation that they rank among the first and foremost in a class of literature that was invented, one might say, by the author of Eothen—the amusing narrative of genuine travel. It is true that Robert Curzon's book on the Monasteries of the Levant stands high as an early example of this style; but though he visited the Levant in 1832, he did not publish until some years after Kinglake's book appeared in 1844. Keen yet good-natured insight into strange and simple morals, manners, and institutions, the habit of taking mishaps and hardships with humorous philosophy, of dealing sympathetically with men of the rough unvarnished world, and of giving a comical turn to petty incidents or vexations—combined with

a strong sense of the picturesque, a taste for intelligent research, and an earnest interest in primitive folk,—these are the qualities which must be united for success in finding adventures and writing about them.

These letters show us Lord Dufferin in the prime of his manhood, captivating the Icelandic ladies by his lively courtesy, taking frolics and fatigues with equal zest, never flinching either before the deep potations of the hospitable Norsemen, or among the fogs and ice-fields that barred his access to Spitzbergen. His outward course was from Scotland, touching at the Hebrides, for Iceland, where he made several expeditions inland, and where the inhabitants, by no means barbarous, showed him much kindness. None who read the book will forget the banquet at Government House, Reikiavik, beginning at four o'clock in the afternoon and ending in broad daylight at eleven; when Lord Dufferin, after drinking to innumerable toasts from six wine-glasses that were always brimful (until he likened himself to the Danaides with their punishment reversed), delivered a fluent reply in dog-Latin to the Bishop's eloquent proposal of his health in the human dialect of that language—feeling, as he stood up, that he was suddenly disembodied, a distant spectator of his own performances, and hearing "at the end of each sentence the cheers, faint as the roar of waters on a far-off strand, floating toward him."

For a contrast to this scene of jovial revelry we may turn to his description of the Arctic seas, as he beats in his yacht round the Spitzbergen coast, resolutely searching for an opening through the ice that encompassed those shores, and finding the passage to a landing-place almost at the last hour before he must have turned back. He was now within about

the 80° parallel of north latitude, and still an impenetrable sheet of ice, extending fifty or sixty miles westward from the coast, held him off from the land—

"It blew great guns and the cold was perfectly intolerable; billow upon billow of black fog came sweeping down between the sea and sky, as if it were going to swallow up the whole universe; while the midnight sun—now completely blotted out, now faintly struggling through the ragged breaches of the mist—threw down from time to time an unearthly red-brown glare on the waste of roaring waters.

"For the whole of that night did we continue beating up along the edge of the ice in the teeth of a whole gale of wind; at last, about nine o'clock in the morning—but two short hours before the moment at which it had been agreed we should bear up and abandon the attempt—we came up with a long low point of ice that had stretched further to the Westward than any we had yet doubled; and, there, beyond, lay an open sea!—open not only to the Northward and Westward, but also to the Eastward! You can imagine my excitement. 'Turn the hands up, Mr. Wyse!' ''Bout ship!' 'Down with the helm!' 'Helm a-lee!' Up comes the schooner's head to the wind, the sails flapping with the noise of thunder—blocks rattling against the deck, as if they wanted to knock their brains out—ropes dancing about in galvanized coils, like mad serpents—and everything to an inexperienced eye in inextricable confusion; till gradually she pays off on the other tack—the sails stiffen into deal boards—the staysail sheet is let go—and heeling over on the opposite side, again she darts forward over the sea like an arrow from the bow. 'Stand by to make sail!' 'Out all reefs!' I could have carried sail to sink a man-of-war!—and away the little ship went, playing leap-frog over the heavy seas, and staggering under her canvas, as if

giddy with the same joyful excitement which made my own heart thump so loudly."

Next day they cast anchor in a calm and silent haven.

"I think" (Lord Dufferin writes) "that the most striking feature of the panorama around us was the stillness, and deadness, and impassibility of this new world: ice, and rock, and water surrounded us; not a sound of any kind interrupted the silence; the sea did not break upon the shore; no bird or any living thing was visible; the midnight sun, by this time muffled in a transparent mist, shed an awful, mysterious lustre on glacier and mountain; no atom of vegetation gave token of the earth's vitality: an universal numbness and dumbness seemed to pervade the solitude."

The figure of Wilson the steward, dismal and atrabilious, who saluted his master of a morning with the gloomiest news of the weather and the ice, in the voice of one foredoomed to perish, stands out as a foil to the skipper's cheerfulness. After leaving Spitzbergen they scudded southward before a spanking breeze ("The girls at home," quoth the sailing-master, "have got hold of the tow-rope"), looking in at Norwegian and Swedish ports, until in September Lord Dufferin landed at Hamburg, leaving the *Foam* to finish a voyage of six thousand miles in Portsmouth harbour.

CHAPTER IV.

EGYPT AND THE SYRIAN MISSION.

In regard to the part taken by Lord Dufferin in home politics, or to his views upon the stirring events of 1857–60, there is little or nothing on record. He writes from London in September 1857—

"Here we can talk about nothing but India. The details [of the massacres during the Sepoy mutiny] are too horrible even for men to tell them to each other. If it were not for my mother, I would set off to-morrow in order to have a share in avenging those poor ladies. How all the miserable little interests and cares of one's daily life sink into insignificance beside these startling tragedies! But how an event of this kind, which I suppose great sagacity and thoughtfulness might have guarded against, makes one feel what a solemn charge they undertake who make politics their profession! Yet directly any question, involving no matter what momentous principle, enters the doors of either House, all its virtue seems to leave it, it is never spoken of but with levity, as if blighted by an unwholesome atmosphere. At least, that is the case in the society through which I scramble."

He writes to his mother, March 28, 1857—

"At Campden Hill I met Livingstone, who has walked up and down the interior of Africa, as familiarly as we stroll Bond Street. His wife was

with him, and falling into bad health, was brought round by a diet of stewed caterpillars. When Dr. Livingstone reached the coast, a native insisted on accompanying him to England, but the poor creature was so overcome by the strange sights and sounds he witnessed on board ship, that he went mad, and finally drowned himself by climbing *down* the chain cable until he was dead, being a good swimmer."

In 1858 Lord Dufferin was voyaging in the quieter waters of the South. Having now substituted steam for sails, he took his mother from Portsmouth through the Mediterranean in a yacht—touching at Cadiz, Gibraltar, and Malta — to Alexandria, whence he visited Cairo, and was presented to the Khedive, Said Pasha, who "seemed to me a good-natured, irascible, bustling, childish man. He allows every one to cheat him, and his sole delight is his army"—a character that fits in closely with the reputation left by this prince in the annals of Egyptian misrule.

From Cairo Lord Dufferin set out in January on a voyage up the Nile to Karnak, Luxor, and Assouan. At Karnak he organized considerable excavations, and made a large collection of antiquities, mummies, figures, statuary fragments, sculptures, and inscriptions, many of which he brought home eventually to Clandeboye. His time on the river seems to have been divided between the study of Egyptology and the shooting of crocodiles and strange birds. For a month he was ill on board his boat; but by the end of April he was again at Cairo, climbing to the top of the great Pyramid amid the shrieks of Arabs who watched him, and exploring the interior. At Cairo he first made acquaintance with Mr. Cyril Graham, afterwards an intimate friend, and a colleague during his subsequent mission to Syria.

He writes at this time to the Duchess of Argyll—

"My recollection of the succession of each individual day is rather dreamy and indistinct. A broad, grey river broken up by sandy banks, flowing between cracked cliffs of dry mud; levels of dark green cornland on either side, sometimes shrinking into mere strips, sometimes spreading out into vast plains, as the parallel barriers of blazing limestone hills on either side approached or receded from the shore, and a blue unchanging sky—formed the principal features of the landscape, so that it was with anything but regret we at last found ourselves among the granite defiles that encompass Elephantine, or 'The Isle of Flowers.' How Lorne would have enjoyed the *coup de théâtre* which was afforded by the sudden change from the placid sandstone to the riotous syenite! It is not until you see Assouan that you can form any idea of the freaks of which Pluto is capable. On all sides he has shot up, through the golden carpet of the desert, piles of molten stone that has vainly endeavoured to crystallize itself as it cooled into the decent symmetry of basalt. . . .

"Egypt, Syria, Greece, and Turkey once visited, my conscience will be clear, and I shall return in peace to Clandeboye, with the consciousness of having seen the world. America will be the only part then unknown, and that I intend seeing some of these days with you and Lorne. In the mean time I am devoting myself to ancient history and Greek, which I hope thoroughly to master before I return. I have also given a good deal of time and attention to the study of hieroglyphics, which I found very fascinating, and made sufficient progress in to be able to interpret many of the simpler sentences carved on the temple walls."

Then in May he proceeded to Alexandria, where Graham was attacked and beaten by some rough fellows with whom he had an altercation in the street.

The Englishmen laid their complaint before the Governor of Alexandria, who confronted accused with accusers.

"The authorities were so afraid that we should be ready to swear to the first person who might appear, that they thought it necessary to warn us against accusing the Pasha's pipe-bearers, who arrived at the same moment. We were then asked if the men were guilty. We replied yes, and they were ordered for execution"—the bastinado, which was commuted to imprisonment in the case of one gouty culprit.

Here Lord Dufferin embarked again on his yacht for Rhodes.

"Every inch" (of the town), he wrote, "is full of the associations connected with the memorable siege of 1521. To this day the streets are encumbered with the enormous stone balls the Turks rained into the town, and all the walls are fringed with the brazen artillery with which the piety of Venice, Genoa, France, and Austria combined to decorate them."

Thence, after visiting Cnidos and Smyrna, he made his way to Constantinople by July 1859. Having there parted from his mother, he set off again in September for the Syrian port of Beyrout, touching on his way at Mount Athos, where he explored the monasteries. From Beyrout he rode with Cyril Graham to Damascus. Here they were welcomed by the Christian and Jewish communities, for it seems that they had been empowered by the British embassy to inquire into complaints of oppressive ill-usage made against the Turkish officials by the non-Mahomedan population of these parts. In a narrative of the journey Lord Dufferin writes from Damascus—

"We then proceeded by appointment to pay our respects to the Governor General of the province, a

very gentleman-like-looking Turk in the prime of life. He had already been ambassador at Vienna, and spoke French with fluency. I remember our talk turned a good deal on the *Great Eastern*, in whose fate the Pasha seemed to take a great interest. How little either of us knew at the time in what tragic relations we were to stand towards each other a year later!

"I was also given a beautiful entertainment by the Jewish community, who at that time were rich and flourishing, and considered themselves more or less under English protection. The *fête* took place in a large chamber, or rather hall, beautiful with arabesque ornamentations. But what struck me most were the costumes of the ladies, most of whom were young and beautiful. The married ones had shaved their eyebrows, which were replaced by a continuous line of black kohl, drawn right across the forehead. Their large Eastern eyes were made still more lustrous by being encircled with the same black preparation. On their heads they wore little caps, while their long black hair hung down their backs intertwined with strings of pearls or diamonds. They wore full plaited trousers of silk of various colours, and blue, red, or pink silk jackets trimmed with silver or gold. Underneath these jackets were delicate muslin chemisettes, which, however, did not cover but met at the waist beneath their bosoms, which were left quite bare. . . .

"Another visit I paid to a rich Syrian merchant, a Christian. Through a narrow passage we came to a third door; and then I suddenly found myself at the threshold of Paradise. Before us lay a large court-yard paved with marble, with a living river running through it, and interspersed with palm trees and a variety of scented shrubs. On all four sides there rose lofty structures of the most beautiful Arabic architecture, with highly decorated porches, doors and windows in the style of the Alhambra, with golded

lattices framed in lovely arabesque lace-work, and interspersed with intricate marble pillars, colonnades, and friezes—while every sign and symptom of the existence of the dust, tumult, and toil of the outer world was shut out. All that one heard was the twittering of the birds in the trees, the soft sighing of the wind through their branches, and the ripple of the little river singing on its way, the whole scene enriched by the splendour and the variegated lights and shades that are born of Syrian suns. We were greeted by a very gentleman-like young man in native dress, the master of this peaceful home; and shortly afterwards his young wife, dressed like the ladies I have already described, with two little children of three and four, came forth to welcome us. She looked quite a girl, and was extremely pretty, with a beautiful fair complexion. Here we passed the remainder of the afternoon in pleasant conversation, my cicerone being an excellent Arabic scholar, and our host being very intelligent, and our hostess full of gaiety and merriment. The whole scene made a profound impression upon me, contrasting as its sweet tranquillity and peace did with the semi-barbarous depressing aspects and sense of general insecurity impressed upon the face of all Eastern countries by the maladministration of the Turks. A year later I returned to Damascus as British Commissioner, charged with the duty of investigating the causes and punishing the authors of the massacres in the Lebanon and in Damascus, which in the mean time had occurred. One of my first acts was to repair to the site of the spot whose pleasant amenities I have just described. The whole place was a mass of ruins, a labyrinth of burnt walls and devastated homes, while the happy little family group that had welcomed us so kindly—the young merchant, his pretty wife, and the two little children—with thousands of other Syrian Christians, had been brutally murdered by the Turkish soldiery and the fanatical rabble."

From Damascus they took the road over Mount Lebanon towards Jerusalem. At Hasbeya he notes in his Journal a story of the British Consul's interference to protect the Druses.

"The Pasha tried to draw taxes twice over. A row. The Sultan's troops defeated, and the victorious Druse chiefs enticed to Damascus, where they were imprisoned for speedy execution—Wood interferes; the Pasha promises not to execute them, offers sherbet, telling a janissary, in Turkish, to cut off their heads and then to return saying the reprieve had come too late—Wood luckily understood Turkish, and is down on Pasha. Great row. Carries off all the Druse chiefs to the Consulate, and keeps them there nine months, until Stratford Canning gets the Pasha removed."

They passed by the Lake of Tiberias ("sulphur baths full of Jews") into the Samarian valley, climbed Mount Gerizim, went on through the mountains of Ephraim to Bethel, Ramah, and Gibeah.

"At last we drew near Jerusalem, Cyril taking great pains that I should not see it until the view burst on me from a certain spot. So we stalked the city. When it did come, it far surpassed anything I had imagined—the tears came into my eyes."

They rejoined the yacht at Joppa.

"From thence we made the best of our way toward Athens, where my mother was awaiting me. Just, however, as we had entered the Gulf of Athens, and could plainly discern the temples on the Acropolis, a violent northerly gale sprang up, during the course of which we drifted a long distance to leeward, and finally picked ourselves up in the harbour of Milos. The harbour of Milos, like the harbour of Mitylene,

is formed by the craters of two submerged volcanoes, the upper lips of which remain above the sea, except where, at a particular spot, part of the circular edge is broken down and forms a passage through which storm-driven vessels can find a safe anchorage within the land-locked circular basin they surround. As soon as the gale moderated we again got under weigh for Athens."

After a fortnight's voyage from the Syrian port they sighted the Piræus.

"A beautiful sunrise. The Western hills all deep purple, the sky grey, but a broad zone of gold along the East, and the islands swimming high in golden haze—the plain of Athens in mist, with the Acropolis and other hills rising up like islands out of it."

From Athens they travelled home overland to London by the end of January 1860.

In the following May he spoke in the House of Lords on the Paper Duty Repeal Bill, laying stress on the constitutional principle that a fiscal measure sent up from the Commons ought not to be rejected by the Peers, who nevertheless threw it out by a large majority against the government. Two months later Europe was startled by the news that in the Lebanon—the country which Lord Dufferin had so recently traversed—a series of horrible massacres had been perpetrated upon the Christian population; and the French government at once took up the matter very seriously.

It may be convenient to review briefly the course of events in Syria that preceded and led up to this catastrophe. Along the coast of Syria two parallel ranges of hills run from north to south, the

Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon—the Lebanon sloping down to the sea-shore, while the Anti-Lebanon, divided from the other range by a valley, lies further inland. Eastward of these hills, in a fertile well-watered plain, is the city of Damascus. The northern district of this highland country is mainly populated by the Maronites; and on the south it is inhabited by the Druses. The Maronites are an ancient Christian sect who adhered to the Roman Church from the time when dissensions between Latin and Greek Christians divided Syria into two religious parties, deriving their name from a monk (John of St. Maron) under whose leadership they settled as a separate community in the Lebanon. Toward the end of the twelfth century they finally joined the Latin Church; and in 1860 they had been for several centuries under the special protection of France.* The Druses are Mahomedan schismatics, for whom the Lebanon had originally been a refuge from the persecution of orthodox Islam. When, in 1831, the Egyptian army under Ibrahim Pasha conquered Syria, the Mountain (as both ranges were called inclusively) was ruled almost independently by a local chief, the Emir Bashir, who submitted to the invaders; and under his firm undisputed authority the whole

* "St. Louis, after enrolling under his standards some 40,000 Christian Mountaineers, was pleased to reward them for their devotion by granting to the Maronites of Mount Lebanon a solemn charter in which they were declared to form part of the French nation. Francis I., Henry IV., Louis XIV., Louis XV., availed themselves of various opportunities to draw closer the bonds which were regarded as uniting the Maronite nation to the 'mother country.' The Convention, at the very moment when at home it was hurrying the priests and the noblesse to the scaffold, enjoined upon its agents to continue to the princes and clergy of the Maronite nation the same protection which they had hitherto enjoyed, and Bonaparte, whilst laying siege to Acre, sent his secretary to greet the Maronites 'as French citizens from time immemorial.'"—Chirol, "French Diplomacy in Syria," *Fortnightly Review*, 1882.

region was fairly tranquil. In 1840 the European Powers forced the Egyptians to evacuate Syria; but the Emir was maintained in authority, with an assurance, conveyed to him by the representative of England, that it would be the care of the four Powers "to secure to the inhabitants the laws, liberty, and privileges they enjoyed formerly under the authority of their legitimate sovereign." With the restoration of the Turkish sovereignty confusion and misgovernment reappeared; until in 1845, under pressure from the European Powers, the Osmanli government deputed a Pasha from Constantinople to reform the administration, by whose settlement the Maronites and Druses were each placed under their own local chief, in subordination to the Turkish Governor of Syria. But it has been the consistent policy of the Osmanli Sultans, in their management of subject races, to maintain their own supremacy by encouraging feuds and dissensions, and under this system the traditional hostility between the two sects in the Lebanon constantly broke out into quarrels and bloodshed; so that the Lebanon was the focus of the political and religious antipathy which divided Christians and Mahomedans throughout Syria. The protection of the Christians, who were numerous in this province, had always been a matter of political concern to the European Powers. In the towns, particularly in Damascus, where they were a thriving community, the commerce was principally in their hands; and their prosperity, with the privileges that they claimed under Consular jurisdiction, exposed them to the envy and increased the fanaticism of the Mahomedans. In 1853 the Russian envoy presented at Constantinople an ultimatum, demanding a guarantee that all the orthodox Greek Christians in the Sultan's dominions should in future enjoy their rightful

immunities without molestation; and the rejection of this demand was the original cause that led to the Crimean war. When, in 1856, the terms of peace were under settlement at Paris, the Sultan pledged himself to confirm by a public edict, and to execute, the measures that had been promised for the equal treatment of all his subjects, without distinction of race or creed, in regard to the security of their persons and property, and the preservation of their honour. The high importance of this formal decree was emphatically recognized in the Treaty of Paris.

It soon appeared, however, that the Sultan did not dare to proclaim, still less to enforce throughout his dominions, an edict which placed Christians and Mahomedans on a footing of equality; and as the European Powers did not insist on his doing so, the proclamation had never been made in Syria, where, however, its purport was known sufficiently to irritate and alarm the Mahomedans. Meanwhile the Crimean war was said by a competent observer to have produced among the Mahomedans an impression that at least one foreign Power, England, might be relied upon for indulgence and support.

Various causes and circumstances had combined to render the Turkish government in Syria even worse and weaker than in other parts of the Osmanli Empire. The province, being distant from the capital, had been treated at Constantinople as an outlying Pashalic, in which the governorship and other high offices could be farmed out with more than usual impunity to the highest bidder; and the vendors made this traffic more profitable by frequently changing the officials, recalling them in order to make fresh appointments. "This system" (Lord Dufferin wrote

afterwards in a despatch) "naturally resulted in the province being cursed with a succession of incapable proconsuls, chosen without any regard for their qualifications, ruthless in their oppressions, corrupt administrators of justice, and utterly indifferent to the interests of the people."

Moreover, these officials were for the most part totally ignorant of the language, habits, and character of a country in which they were strangers.

It was the practice of the Turkish war department, when some particular emergency required the assemblage of troops, to withdraw the regiments stationed in a province for temporary service elsewhere; and whenever they were in this manner removed from Syria, the long distances which had to be traversed in going and returning often left the province with a very inadequate garrison during considerable intervals. The effect was to provide the Governor with an excuse for inaction and timidity, and the mountain tribes with an opportunity for rebellious disorder. It was in one of these intervals that the outbreak of 1860 occurred.

In this way it had come to pass that in a province where a powerful and impartial administration was particularly needed, the Turkish rule had become more than usually impotent and corrupt. The inveterate blood-feuds between the Christian Maronites and the Mahomedan Druses in the Lebanon highlands required control by a strong hand; but the Turkish governors found their advantage in neglecting to check, if they did not encourage, these tribal animosities, being very willing to see both parties weaken each other. In Damascus and other towns of the Syrian low country, where the Mahomedans largely outnumbered the Christians, the bias of

the officials and of the army, which was entirely Mahomedan, was inevitably toward strong sympathy with their co-religionists.

Such being the general state of affairs and feelings, a fierce conflict broke out in May 1860 between the Druses and Maronites in the Lebanon. The Turkish troops not only refused to interfere, but in some cases, where the Christians surrendered for protection, they were disarmed and left to be murdered by their enemies. The Maronites were utterly defeated, their country was wasted with fire and sword, and the fiery excitement caused by these events spread rapidly through the country, until in July there was a savage rising of the Mahomedans against the Christians in Damascus.

When the intelligence of the outbreak in the Lebanon reached Paris, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Thouvenel, spoke earnestly to Lord Cowley, then British ambassador at Paris, on the reports that had reached him from Syria, saying that their publication would arouse universal indignation throughout France. He proposed the immediate deputation of a joint European Commission to make inquiries on the spot, and he pressed for the despatch of troops to support their action. The British government did not agree very cordially, and indeed showed considerable distrust of the proposal to send troops; but some days later came fresh and worse news of the murderous riot in Damascus, where a terrible slaughter of Christians had been made by the Mahomedans, who had burnt the whole Christian quarter of the city. The local Turkish officials had behaved with imbecility, cowardice, and cold-blooded treachery; they had made no attempt to save the Christians, and had abandoned to indiscriminate

massacre large numbers who had allowed themselves to be disarmed under a guarantee of safeguard; while the soldiery, instead of protecting them, had joined in the massacres. It became necessary to act at once and energetically. The proposals of France were vigorously supported by Russia, the Prussian government readily concurred, and Lord Palmerston agreed, though with evident reluctance, that French troops might be landed at Beyrout. In the mean time the Sultan had deputed a High Commissioner with unlimited powers, Fuad Pasha, to restore order in the Province. The Five Powers signed a convention appointing a joint Commission; and at the end of July Lord Dufferin was nominated the representative of Great Britain.

Sir James Graham wrote to Lady Dufferin—

"I am confident that he will do well. The task is a difficult one. Although there may be wisdom in a multitude of counsellors, yet angry divisions lurk in the heart of a mixed Commission; and the sweetness of Dufferin's manners, combined with the firmness of his good sense, will triumph over every difficulty. While he conciliates, he will not be hoodwinked, and is particularly well suited to deal with our ally. He is so unassuming that he never gives offence; he is so true, that a Frenchman would scruple to deceive him, and this is my *beau idéal* of an English diplomatist."

In August Lord Dufferin set out for Syria. At Paris, where he halted for some days, he discussed the Eastern question with Prince Napoleon and M. Thouvenel, the French minister, reporting to the Foreign Office an account of his interview with the latter.

"On embarking at Marseilles" (Lord Dufferin

writes) "I found a very curious medley of fellow-passengers, amongst whom were a number of Garibaldian recruits in red shirts, Alexandre Dumas, accompanied by a young lady dressed as a boy, and one or two more rather notorious individuals. Having paid my respects to Sir Henry Bulwer, our ambassador at Constantinople, I reached Beyrout on the 2nd of September. None of my brother Commissioners had arrived; and as my instructions required me immediately to put myself into communication with Fuad Pasha, who was to be our Turkish colleague, I determined to set off at once for Damascus, which I reached late at night on the second day of my journey."

In a letter to his mother he describes the state of that city, and his meeting with the English consul—

"But the most astounding sight at Damascus was the Christian quarter. No description can give you an idea of it. Imagine upwards of two thousand houses utterly destroyed, and their inhabitants buried beneath the ruins. I climbed up on one of the staircases that the flames had spared, and so was enabled to overlook the scene of desolation. As far as the eye could reach in every direction, there was nothing to be seen but vistas of ruined walls, burnt rafters, and courtyards choked up with rubbish. The utter silence made the scene all the more terrible, and gangs of dogs that went sniffing and prowling among the piled-up *débris* told too plainly what lay beneath our feet. Such a monument of human wickedness and sorrow I have never beheld. When I left the town I felt inclined to shake off the dust of my shoes against it."

"Poor old Consul Brant* I found very much shattered. During the whole time he was besieged in his house he showed the greatest calmness and presence

* British consul at Damascus.

of mind, and of all the Europeans at Damascus he was the only one who had the courage to make his way through the streets crowded with fanatical Moslems, in order to remonstrate with the Pasha. Four times did he go on this dangerous quest, each time at the imminent risk of his life. But now that the danger is over, the nervous system has given way, and he sometimes wanders in his talk. Fancy being shut up in a house it was impossible to defend, with one's wife and children, for ten days together, daily expecting death, and listening to the shouts and shrieks which proceeded from the Christian quarter as the massacres were going on, without the slightest prospect of relief. It would have been enough to try the stoutest nerves."

The subjoined extracts from a short record of his mission continue the narrative—

"I at once notified my arrival to the Turkish High Commissioner, and about midnight he received me in one of the chambers of the ancient castle of Damascus."

"At that time Fuad Pasha was one of the most remarkable public men in Europe—middle-aged, tall and handsome, speaking French in perfection, with the most charming manners, and a kind and amiable character. His position just then was a very difficult one. The Sultan and the Turkish government naturally regarded the advent of the Commission and of the French army with the utmost displeasure. Their desire was to throw a shield over their own officers implicated in the crimes of which Syria had been the recent theatre, and to Fuad Pasha was assigned the almost impossible task of satisfying the requirements of the indignant Powers, and of vindicating the independence of his Sovereign, and at the same time of averting their wrath from those with whom he was in close sympathy, namely, the inculpated Ottoman authorities, who were not only his

co-religionists, but his colleagues and fellow-Turks; for it must always be remembered that in the eyes of great Ottoman dignitaries the Syrians and the Arabs were of little account, and were regarded more or less as members of an alien and inferior nationality."

Then followed an important and characteristic interview. The Pasha, speaking with much grace and plausibility, described how he had executed full justice upon the rabble of cut-throats and incendiaries in the city who had committed the massacres, hanging up men of no account by scores. The British Commissioner, after listening for some time, inquired what had been done to the Turkish officials, who were generally believed to have been much more culpable than the mob; and the Pasha replied that some of the principal officers, civil and military, had been sentenced to death by court-martial. So far so good; but from what followed it became clear that Fuad Pasha, acting under instructions from his government, was intent upon saving their lives, and desired anxiously to obtain the British envoy's support in pleading their cause before the Commission.

"After he had gone on in this strain for some time I told him that it was better in his own interest and that of his Sovereign that I should be frank with him. The responsibility for the sentences must rest with the Court that tried these men, but he must not expect any assistance from me in furthering the mitigation of the punishments. The crimes committed had been awful beyond all precedent, and the guilt of those who had been privy to them, or had permitted them, could not be exaggerated. Moreover, it would be much better, on political grounds, that whatever punishment were inflicted should proceed from himself as the representative of his Sovereign

than at the dictation of the European Commission and the European Powers, which certainly would be the result of any weakness or indecision on his part at this juncture.

"Fuad Pasha was much too shrewd a man not to understand the force of these arguments. He had built his hopes of saving the lives of his friends upon the complicity of the British Commissioner, and when this expectation failed him he at once made up his mind as to what was necessary to do, and before I left him he intimated pretty plainly that the sentences of the Courts-martial would be immediately carried out. On this I exacted from him a promise that the sentence on thirty or forty Arabs who were to be hanged the next morning should be commuted, and that no further death sentences of any sort or description should be pronounced. To this he readily agreed, for, after the grave determination he had reached in regard to the Turkish officers, it was no longer necessary to attempt to blind the eyes of Europe with a show of specious severity by hanging up strings of unconsidered Arabs.

"It was within an hour or two of dawn when I found my way back to my tent outside the town, and before daylight we mounted our horses on our way back to Beyrout. After proceeding a few miles on our journey we were overtaken by an aide-de-camp of the Turkish High Commissioner, who informed me that the five great Ottoman officers I have mentioned had been shot. Such news was anything but exhilarating, but I had the satisfaction of feeling that for each life that had been taken, and as I was firmly convinced had been justly taken, a dozen poor fellows, probably infinitely less culpable, had been saved from the gallows."

The unusual promptitude of these executions suggested, indeed, to many minds a suspicion that the Osmanli government might have been interested in

silencing those who might have betrayed its own complicity in their crimes. It is certain, at any rate, that to the European consuls and others the outrageous conduct of the local officials could only be accounted for on the assumption of connivance on the part of superior authority.

The establishment of a firm and fair administration over a population divided by violent antipathies of race and creed, has always been a task far beyond the strength or ruling capacity of the Osmanli Sultans; and accordingly their policy, the policy of all Asiatic empires, has never been to obliterate or diminish, in any part of their dominions, these elements of turbulent hostility, but, on the contrary, to maintain perpetual discord for the advantage of their own supremacy. They divide in order that they may rule the more easily, with a strong natural bias on the side of their Mahomedan subjects. But since on this system the balance is always heavily against the Christians, they have habitually sought relief from the burden of oppression by appeals to Europe, and have exposed to civilized nations of their own faith all the corrupt abuses and the misdeeds of barbarous rulers. The interference of the European Powers in the affairs of Turkey has almost invariably been based upon their claim to protect the Christian subjects of the Porte; nor has it ever failed to alarm the Sultans and to inflame the fanaticism of the Mahomedans. Here lies, indeed, the root of the danger to the ascendancy of Islam, which is a supreme article of faith and policy with a Mahomedan government and people. To extirpate it by crushing out the Christians would be an effective remedy, but would be most hazardous politically. Nevertheless, in dealing with the Syrian

outbreaks of 1860, the Turkish politicians apparently relied, not without good reason, on the jealousy of each other, and the mutual distrust prevailing among the European governments, to frustrate any decisive and concerted action. Consular warnings and diplomatic remonstrances failed to prevent, if they did not precipitate, a catastrophe; and in Syria, as thirty-five years later in Armenia, there followed the most terrible massacres recorded in modern history. Unluckily, the Syrian outrages were perpetrated at a time when the attention of Western statesmen was engrossed by momentous events and alarms elsewhere, by the battles and revolutions in Italy, by the state of affairs in America, and by the attitude of the French emperor, whose military power was creating alarm in England.

In these arduous and difficult circumstances, and remembering that with this mission Lord Dufferin's official career began, it is greatly to his credit that in his dealings both with the Turkish Pashas and his European colleagues, and in the writing of his despatches, he acted throughout with judgment, firmness, and generosity. On discovering, soon after his arrival, that the Christians in Damascus, who had escaped fire and sword, were in the utmost destitution, he supplied £500 from his own funds * toward their relief. Moreover, he gave ample proofs of having mastered the antecedent causes and existing conditions of a complicated situation. The policy of the European Powers had always been to favour a kind of home

* "La lettre dans laquelle lord Dufferin explique à Sir Henry Bulwer ce qu'il vient de faire, est d'une noblesse et d'une délicatesse qui m'ont charmé. Avec quelle joie d'honnête homme il annonce que tous les enfants et toutes les femmes enlevés par les Musulmans ont été restitués à leurs familles. Il ne manque qu'une petite fille nommée Vardah."—["La Syrie en 1861." Par M. Saint Marc Girardin.]

rule in the Lebanon; and for that very reason, among others, the Sultan's government, alarmed by foreign interference, had spared no pains to wreck this autonomous system, by encouraging the traditionary blood-feuds between the Christian Maronites and the Mahomedan Druses.

Lord Dufferin wrote in a despatch—

"It is to be remembered that this is a country of vendettas; that in the war carried on between the barbarian tribes which inhabit it, usages prevail as horrible as those which disgraced the Middle Ages of Europe. It is a principle received and acted upon by all alike, that when the 'deen,' or blood-feud, exists it is allowable to slay your unarmed enemy, and every male belonging to his house, wherever you may find them. In fact, beneath the full blaze of modern civilization we find in Syria habits of thought and practices prevailing for which the only historical parallel can be found in the books of Moses. That the Christians are to be exempted from the number of those subject to these savage influences cannot be pretended. A mere cursory perusal of the official accounts of the murders, feuds, and wars which have deluged the Mountain with blood during the last twenty-five years proves too lamentably how little influence their religion has had in mitigating the ferocity with which the traditional customs of the country have imbued them. The cruel manner in which they have taken advantage of the first opportunity afforded them to massacre old men, women, and children, even since we ourselves have been in the country, confirms in only too melancholy a manner this sinister conclusion."

Among communities saturated with traditional fanaticism, accustomed to no law but the wild justice of revenge, the Turkish policy of gently fanning the

smouldering fires produced a conflagration; but the outburst of fanatic fury in 1860 went far beyond what the Turks had expected or desired. They had, in fact, overreached themselves, and had brought about a scandalous catastrophe that outraged European opinion and compelled intervention. The European Commissioners, after inquiry on the spot, recorded a unanimous conclusion that the Turkish authorities in Syria were at least no less responsible for the massacres than the Druse chiefs who had actually done the bloody work.

When, however, the Commission took up the question of punishing the Druse chiefs, there arose much divergence of opinion. The Turks were quite ready to use any opportunity of weakening the unruly mountain tribes and of abolishing their feudal independence; and with this object Fuad Pasha, presiding over the Special Court for the trial of offenders, desired to treat with indiscriminate severity those who had been principally concerned in the massacre of the Lebanon Maronites. Some of the European Commissioners, headed by the representative of France, were for allowing the Court's sentences to take their course. Lord Dufferin pressed for clemency, on the ground that warfare between wild mountain tribes, however savage it had been, must be distinguished from deliberate massacres. He argued, also, that the Christians had been to blame at first; and that, above all, the Turkish government had been wholly responsible for the chronic anarchy, the insecurity of life, the immunity of crime, and the prostitutions of justice in the Lebanon, for all the evils and scandals which had led to this disastrous explosion. He urged the necessity of protecting the Mahomedan tribes against the proceedings of the Turkish

officials, who were encouraging the Maronites to denounce the Druses, in order that they might decimate them by wholesale executions, just as they had originally egged on the Druses against the Maronites, and had abetted the very offences of which the Druses were now found guilty. He opposed energetically the execution of one chief, Said Djenblat, a man of great influence, who was clearly implicated in a ferocious attack upon a Maronite town by the Druses, when many Christians had been killed and all their houses plundered, and whom the Court had sentenced to death.

So earnest, indeed, was Lord Dufferin's desire to protect the Druse chiefs from being treated as scapegoats for the benefit of the Turkish officials, that before leaving Syria he visited Said Djenblat in his prison, and put to him the direct question whether the slaughter of the Christians in the Lebanon had been instigated or encouraged by the Turkish government. But the Said only answered, as might have been expected, evasively; for information regarding secret intrigues is always very difficult to extract from Orientals, and even when it is obtained, is untrustworthy. Lord Dufferin's proceeding was by no means approved by his colleagues; and a few days afterwards Said Djenblat died. The other Druse chiefs were imprisoned or transported; but the sentence of death that had been passed upon them was not carried out. In the Said's case one may doubt whether Lord Dufferin did not protest too much, for the man's guilt was undeniable, the demand for retribution was hard to resist, and the Christians saw with disappointment the English Commissioner appearing as protector of their bitter enemies; while his French colleague ranged himself on the side of the Maronites, and Fuad Pasha looked on with complacency at the

dissensions that it was his business to promote among the European representatives. Lord Dufferin wrote to the Duchess of Argyll—

"Our time here is being spent most sadly. If when I left England I had had any notion of the terrible responsibilities I should have to undertake, I do not think I should have had the heart to come. It is a terrible thing to feel that the life of many a man will have to depend on one's judgment, pluck, and skill. Moreover, my task is the most difficult of any. The other Commissioners are merely prosecutors. Provided those whom their governments are determined to think guilty do not get off, they need have no other care. But I am judge, jury, prosecutor, and counsel for the plaintiff all at once. These unfortunate Druses are in a most pitiable position. They have committed the most horrible crimes, they are being pursued with the extremity of rancour by the Maronites out of revenge, and by the French out of ambition; they are being sacrificed by the Turks out of fear, and in the hope of saving their own people; and yet their only friend is obliged to a certain extent to place himself in the ranks of their accusers. . . . My sole consolation here is reading Shakespeare: every morning while my hair (my back hair) is being brushed, I read a couple of scenes in some pleasant comedy, filling the room with a vision of sunshine, roses, and quaint old-world merriment. It does take one so out of the present. Yet for all this, if not very happy I am very interested, for though you would not think it, business is after all my vocation. Tell Lorne* he does well to read my despatches. Their study will improve his style. It were well if he copied out a few three or four times over, after learning them by heart. Tell him, moreover, that I look to him to fight the Syrian battle in the House of Lords, and redeem by his eloquence all my mistakes."

* The Duke of Argyll.

When these controversies regarding the punishment of past offences had been determined, there remained the important question of preventing their recurrence. On the question of the future administration of the Lebanon, the views of the European Commissioners were again so sharply divided that Lord Dufferin found it no easy matter to hold his ground and sustain his views in dealing with his colleagues. The presence of the French troops in Syria was a material advantage to the representative of France; and the French commander, naturally reluctant to remain idle, insisted on displaying his forces, and marched into the Lebanon country.

"It would have been impossible" (Lord Dufferin writes from Beyrout) "to have kept General Beaufort here doing nothing. He is a determined man himself, his troops and officers were getting very discontented, and kept pressing him on. Fuad Pasha is mortally afraid of him, and can only get the better of him by cunning and deception."

The Prussian member was on the French side, while the attitude of his Russian colleague was ambiguous. There was a general impression that if, when the work of the Commission should have been terminated, the French army should be withdrawn, the whole country would relapse into disorder; nor was Lord Dufferin altogether able to reassure himself or others against such a possibility.

In January 1861 he writes—

"In insisting upon the evacuation of Syria by the French we have taken upon ourselves a very great responsibility, and as it will have been on the strength of my representation that our government will have based its opinion, or at all events as it will be on me

that all the blame will fall if any disaster occurs, I am naturally very anxious."

Meanwhile the Maronites, encouraged by certain movements of General Beaufort, and relying on the sympathy of the Commission, had begun to take vengeance on their enemies; the Druses were flying from the mountains; and the prospect of making a pacific settlement of the Lebanon was considerably obscured by the conflict of views within the Commission. As France had always affirmed the right of protecting the Syrian Christians, her representative pressed for the appointment of a Maronite chief in supreme control of the whole district, who should hold office for life and be revocable only with the concurrence of the European Powers—a proposal that was at once opposed by the representative of England.

"For my part" (Lord Dufferin wrote in a despatch) "I can never consent to deliver up the other communities of the mountains to the tyranny of a half-barbarous Maronite who would necessarily be a mere puppet in the hands of a fanatical priesthood. . . . The sufferings of the Christian populations have been undoubtedly very great, and no member of the Commission has more heartily sympathized with their misfortunes than myself. The Turkish officials have behaved abominably, and it would be idle to excuse or extenuate their misconduct. It is to be regretted that populations professing our own religion should remain under Mussulman rule; but it would be childish to allow considerations of this kind to blind us to the fact that on this occasion the Maronites have been the principal authors of their own misfortunes; and that in a country like Syria, with its unruly and motley population, the maintenance of order must be entrusted to the hand of Imperial authority."

Lord Dufferin's alternative scheme was founded upon his conviction that the mainspring of all misrule in Syria lay in the corruption and incapacity of the dominant officials at Constantinople. He desired, therefore, to place the whole Syrian province under a Governor, to be appointed for a term of years by the Sultan, who should be strong enough to resist intrigues and demands for bribes at headquarters, with unfettered jurisdiction over local affairs, a force of military and police at his command, and a Pasha subordinate to him for the management of the Lebanon highlands.

"The charge of ruling the Syrian population ought to be confided to a man whose position should be rendered independent of the baneful influences dominant at Constantinople. He should be relieved from the obligation of paying blackmail to those in power at home. He should feel himself sufficiently secure in his government to be able to defy the intrigues of his colleagues at the capital, and the exacting tutelage of European consuls in his Pashalic. His appointments, secured on the revenues of the province, should be on a scale sufficiently liberal to obviate the temptations to which a needy official is exposed. His enjoyment of power should be secured to him for a term of years long enough to enable him to acquaint himself with the requirements of the country, and to inspire him with an interest in the welfare of the people. Above all things, the selection of the individual should be made by the Porte in conjunction with the Great Powers, in order to secure the appointment of a person of talent and integrity."

But the Osmanli government, alarmed at the prospect of another viceroyalty on the Egyptian model, and greatly mistrusting governors who might be tempted to make themselves independent, demurred

vehemently; and the English ministry, after favouring the plan at first, latterly withdrew their support from a proposition that might affect the integrity of the Turkish empire. The arrangement finally settled was to place the Lebanon district under a Christian governor nominated by and directly subordinate to the Porte, who should be altogether unconnected with the tribes, and a stranger to the province—to be appointed for three years, and to be removable only on formal proof of misconduct. Tribunals representing different religions and races among the members were constituted; and administrative councils, nominated by the several communities, were established. And in May (1861) the French troops, whose general had been reluctant to leave without having found an occasion for using them in the field, were at last persuaded, much to Lord Dufferin's relief, to embark on their homeward voyage. Lady Dufferin, who was then in Syria, wrote in January to Lord Gifford—

"We are going on pretty swimmingly. I am in hopes that six weeks will finish the business, if only the French do nothing to embarrass the action of the Commission. They are so evidently *bent* on remaining here beyond the stipulated time, that they threaten to cause commotions, in order to make work for themselves! A young officer said this to me in so many words, affirming that it would be a disgrace to French arms to leave Syria *sans coup férir*. This is their idea of glory, and such is the discretion of troops sent to keep order and prevent bloodshed. A man in some authority among them said to a friend of mine yesterday—'*Nous sommes* 8000 *hommes ici—il n'est pas nécessaire que nous comptions avec qui que ce soit, nous dicterons la loi à ce pays.*'"

The Commissioners were summoned to Constantinople, in order that their proceedings might be

reviewed and finally ratified by the ambassadors of the Powers and the Osmanli government.

From that place Lady Dufferin writes about Lord Dufferin to her sister—

"I do not grudge the precious year out of his life, and can look with a certain degree of equanimity on his poor, worn, hatchet face! Like the fish in the fairy frying-pan of the Arabian Nights, he has been paying his debt and doing his duty by his country, and even if the frying-pan is upset he will not have fried in vain. His departure from Beyrout was a universal sorrow; rich and poor, merchants, sailors and soldiers—everybody seemed to love and look up to him, and he was tenderly kissed on both cheeks by the French general, his principal political adversary."

Towards the close of the Commission's proceedings Lord Dufferin wrote to one of his colleagues—

"On leaving England the last words Lord John Russell said to me were: 'Seek to gain no political influence yourself in Syria, nor allow any other nation to get any.' The first of these recommendations I have studiously endeavoured to follow, and your own straightforward and unselfish policy has rendered it unnecessary for me to pay any attention to the second.

"We have convinced each other, I think, that the good of the people of the country, and the well government of the Province, is the principal object that each has at heart, and this conviction has enabled us to arrive at once at a good understanding."

In a despatch dated May 1861, Lord John Russell conveyed to Lord Dufferin "the Queen's gracious approval of all his conduct during the whole period of his residence in Syria"—

"The ability and judgment which you displayed in dealing with the intricate questions which came under discussion, the temper and conciliatory spirit which you uniformly maintained in your intercourse with your colleagues, and the zeal with which, while caring for the exigencies of public justice, you endeavoured to consult the claims of humanity, would necessarily ensure for you the approbation and thanks of Her Majesty's government. But I have still greater pleasure in acquainting you that those qualities are warmly recognized by the governments of those Foreign Powers with whose representatives you have been associated in the arduous work of bringing about the pacification of Syria."

These transactions have been described at some length, because it was upon this mission that Lord Dufferin first proved that kind of high political and diplomatic capacity which is always in great demand for the foreign service of the British empire, with its manifold interests and responsibilities, its possessions, protectorates, and spheres of influence in so many parts of the world. Moreover, as political events of the first magnitude were just then absorbing the attention of Europe, these Syrian affairs attracted comparatively little notice at the time, and have since been more or less forgotten. Yet the whole history of European intervention in Syria is still worth studying as a lesson in the sinister school of Turkish statecraft—a lesson, indeed, that had been forgotten by the European cabinets whose half-hearted intervention brought about the Armenian massacres of 1895–96. It is a standing example of the astuteness and audacity with which a weak Oriental ruler can elude the pressure of all civilized Europe, taking implacable vengeance on his subjects when they call in the foreigner, and evading retribution by his

skill in fomenting jealousy among the Powers who had endeavoured to protect them. Throughout these proceedings the attitude of England was materially affected by a latent apprehension that the French might gain a footing in Syria; while the attitude of France betrayed a suspicion that the English were manœuvring to set up in Syria a viceroy who would have owed the creation of his office to their own influence. The French emperor had come forward as the rescuer of Christian communities from cruelty and extermination, upholding the traditional claim of France to be the protector of the Syrian Christians. In an open letter to M. de Persigny, dated July 25, 1860, Louis Napoleon repudiated with indignation the "pitiful jealousies and unfounded distrust of those who suggested that any interests except those of humanity had induced him to send troops to Syria;" and one may believe this declaration to have been genuine, at any rate when it was first made. That he was right to insist on interposing cannot be denied; nor could any interposition have been otherwise than futile if it had not been backed by a display of armed force. It is true that Louis Napoleon was just then much concerned to conciliate his Catholic subjects, to whom his dealings with Italian and papal affairs were very unpalatable. Yet there is no adequate reason for doubting that his motives for taking up the cause of the Syrian Christians were humane and disinterested; while the apprehensions of the English ministry in regard to his ulterior designs laid them open to the retort that their own Turkish policy was directed by too exclusive a regard for their separate national interests and by traditions of general expediency. The charge of systematically propping up, upon considerations of this nature, an

effete and barbarous despotism over Christian peoples, had been made against England on previous occasions of a similar kind; and undoubtedly one may question whether the principle of maintaining the integrity and independent jurisdiction of the Osmanli Empire is worth all the misrule and injustice that have been more than once tolerated out of a reluctance to compromise it.

In the course of the Syrian Commission misgivings and some diminution of mutual confidence disunited the members, until from judges they became advocates to whom their clients might appeal. The Druses were convinced that the British representative was acting as their friend and protector. The Maronites believed the French representative to be the guardian of their cause. The result was that effectual measures of reform were subordinated on all sides to considerations of general policy, and the Christian rulers held each other in check until the Sultan was out of danger. Lord Dufferin's scheme was negatived on the ground that it would have encroached on the absolute authority of the Porte; yet it was probably the only sure plan for securing the well-being of Syria. All subsequent experience has proved that under the government of Constantinople a just and impartial treatment of every class and creed is unattainable, that pacts and pledges are illusory, and that the disorders, which are the inevitable consequence of intolerance, have never ceased in any province of the Osmanli dominions until it has been raised to some degree of separate autonomy.*

* In 1862 M. St. Marc Girardin published a book in which he reviewed all the proceedings of the Syrian Commission, and discussed at length Lord Dufferin's scheme for a Syrian viceroyalty; with the

The following extract from a letter written to Lord Dufferin from Damascus some years later, attests the durable validity of the settlement * made by the Commission of 1861 :—

"The great military and political events of the last few years must have turned the attention of every one in London from Syrian affairs, yet it must be still a satisfaction to your Lordship that the new government of Lebanon continues to be so successful. There is no province in Syria, none, I believe, in the empire, so well governed as the Lebanon. The Turks are supposed to be jealous of the success of the plan, but they have reason to be thankful that while Candia is on their hands, they need have no anxiety about the Lebanon."

In 1864 Lord Dufferin delivered in Belfast a lecture upon Ancient Syria. This lecture merits some notice here because it illustrates to a remarkable degree the lively interest that he invariably showed in the history, the antiquities, the general character, and the salient features of any country in which he travelled; his zeal in research, and his capacity for

conclusion that it would assuredly have put an end to the future misgovernment of the province, if the joint opposition of France and Turkey had not compelled the English Cabinet to abandon it. And a much more recent book, 'Souvenirs de Syrie, par un témoin oculaire' (1903), written by one of the attachés to the Syrian Commission of 1860–61, gives a remarkably clear and impartial narrative of all the proceedings. At the end the author records his opinion that—

"Le moyen le plus efficace de consolider la tranquillité et de faire de la Syrie l'une des provinces les plus florissantes de l'Empire, eût été, sans doute, de lui accorder l'autonomie qui avait hanté un instant l'imagination généreuse de Lord Dufferin."

And he regrets that in 1861, as once before in 1840, the Osmanli government was enabled by the clashing of views and interests among the European Powers, "to recover full possession of a province that the Turks had thoroughly deserved to lose."

* See p. 119, *ante*.

bringing his personal observations and experiences to bear upon past history, for connecting what he saw with what he had read in books, the present with the past. The scenery, the ruins of ancient cities, the relics of bygone races and religions, the manners and conditions of the people—all combined to confirm in him that impression of the immobility, the permanence of type, the unchanging conditions of existence, that so sharply differentiate Asia from Europe.

"Think" (he says) "of what a thousand years have done for England, France, Germany, and the rest of Europe; cast your eyes across the Atlantic; contrast the America of to-day and the America of the seventeenth century; look into the future and picture to yourselves the new century on whose threshold we are standing. Then turn to the changeless East, and behold the contrast. Time there seems almost shorn of his wings, and all things remain as they have ever been; the accidents of the scene may shift, but the great routine of human existence is pretty much the same as in the days of Sennacherib or Nebuchadnezzar; though Babylon and Nineveh lie waste, the chief cities of Syria are governed by Turkish pashas, if not by Assyrian satraps; though the ten tribes have been lost, and the kingdom of Judah has been blotted out from the catalogue of earthly powers, a remnant of the people inhabit the ancient city, weep over its colossal stones, and return to lay their bones beside those of their fathers in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The yearly sacrifice of the Samaritans is still duly offered on Mount Gerizim, and the seat of Jewish learning and philosophy crowns a hill on the shores of Gennesaret, hard by the buried ruins of Chorazin and Bethsaida. The Bedouins of the Southern Desert still renew the incursions of their Amalekite forefathers round the sites of Ziklag, Ekron, Gath, and

other Philistian cities. The dreaded Midianites still descend like locusts from the Eastern Desert, and cover the plain of Esdraelon and the valley of the Jordan with their black tents, as once they did in the time of Gideon. Pagan tribes—each ruled by its own chief, worshippers of strange gods—Moslem, Druse, Metawali, and Nazarieh—occupy, if not the same, at all events analogous territories to those possessed by the Hittite, Hivite, Amorite, Philistine, and Jebusite. But a few years ago, a prince of Egypt repeated against the Sultan the aggression of Pharaoh Necho against Nabopolassar: while the period of the Judges, when there was no king in Israel, when every one did that which was right in his own eyes, when the book of the Law was lost, and contending tribes smote each other hip and thigh, sparing no male child, is only too accurately reproduced in the chronic blood-feuds and periodical massacres which still desecrate this miserable land."

To the continuity of history he attaches the right value; he protests against the habit of subdividing it into Sacred and Profane, Ancient and Modern. And he sketches rapidly, with picturesque effect, the whole story of the vicissitudes, political and religious, that Syria has undergone, the conquests, the dynasties, the successive civilizations, their rise and fall, from the Phœnician, Egyptian, and Assyrian periods down to the time when the Macedonian conquest first annexed Syria to a Greek empire, thence to the long interval of Roman and Byzantine dominion; until the irruption of the Mahomedan Arabs replaced the province under Asiatic rulership, reducing this ancient Christian population to ignominious subjection under the despotism of Islam.

As a rapid descriptive survey of an Eastern country and its people, with a well-drawn historical

outline, the lecture must have been excellently suited to interest and instruct his audience. If, indeed, we may define the lecture as something between the essay and the oration, a composition both literary and dramatic, it may be said that Lord Dufferin possessed the qualities essential for success as a lecturer—the gift of broad lucid exposition, the knack of touching grave subjects with a light hand, and of producing the clear impression that captivates an audience, while it will also stand the test of leisurely reading afterwards. The immediate aim of an orator is to strike while the iron is hot; the essayist relies on careful argumentative exactitude; the lecturer may be said to steer a middle course, sketching broadly the true outlines of his subject in a style that maintains interest and stimulates the imagination.

Another address that Lord Dufferin delivered in Belfast three years later deals with an entirely different question, but it may be quoted here to exemplify his method. He begins, adroitly, by disclaiming a capacity for venturing upon the illimitable subject of science in its application to the general improvement of human society; and he proceeds directly to a description of the circumstances affecting the social condition of Ireland by comparison with England.

"In the first place, Ireland differs from England and Scotland in that it possesses a very restricted manufacturing industry; secondly, in the peculiarities of its agricultural system; thirdly, in the enormous emigration which is annually flowing from its shores; fourthly, in the fact, that, while Great Britain is inhabited by what has now become a homogeneous people, the soil of Ireland is shared between two distinct races, still considerably estranged from one another; and, lastly, that whereas in Scotland and England there is an unanimity of sentiment on the

essential principles of the Christian faith, in Ireland there prevails between these two sections of its population an irreconcilable difference of religion."

It would be difficult to put broadly into fewer words a comprehensive statement of important differences; and the lecturer at once takes up for his next point a deep and far-reaching proposition—that Religion has been much more powerful in Ireland, as an element of disunion and discord, than Race.

"The tendency of all races confined within a circumscribed territory is to amalgamate. No matter under what hostile auspices they originally came into contact, the result in the long run seems to be the same; collision leads to cohesion; the genius of the race which has been worsted in arms often asserts a permanent ascendency over that to which it has yielded a temporary submission, while the common descendants of those once opposed to each other on the battlefield, recur with impartial pride to the achievements of either nationality, and flatter themselves that in their own persons are united the valour and virtues of both. But in Ireland any result of this kind was effectually hindered by religious dissension. Norman and Celt might commingle,—and the completeness of the fusion of the earlier English settlers with the native Irish has become proverbial—but a union between Protestant and Catholic was considered but little short of deadly sin and political treason by either party. That this should have been the case cannot be wondered at. Presented to the Irish nation by the emissaries of Elizabeth, under circumstances little calculated to illustrate their advantage, the principles of Protestantism conciliated neither its intelligence nor its affections. Subsequent events only rendered the novel creed more odious in its eyes; until at last the persecutions of successive governments, and the enactments of the penal

laws, which scarcely left to them the feeling that they possessed a country, taught the great bulk of the Irish people to transfer to their Church and to their priesthood the fervid loyalty which, under happier circumstances, might have been given to their Sovereign and to the empire with which they were incorporated."

Although these generalizations are not impregnable to accurate criticism, yet it would be impossible to deny that they possess great merit as rapid retrospective condensations of the historical causes and influences that had combined to produce the state of affairs existing in Ireland at the moment when the lecture was delivered. On the educational problem, which still awaits solution, he observes "that the Catholic priesthood, with some exceptions, object to the training of Catholic youth being taken out of their control, on the plea . . . that the devotional sentiment and religious convictions of young persons are liable to be deteriorated by the acquisition of secular knowledge apart from the elevating influences of ecclesiastical supervision;" and in these last words some may detect a slight flavour of irony. But he goes on to say "we are not arguing quite ingenuously when we affirm that a system of secular education is as impartially consonant to Catholic as to Protestant habits of thought and feeling. To do so is to behave as the Fox did to the Crane, when he invited him to dinner. It is true there was the dinner, and a hearty welcome; but the peculiar conformation of the Crane's throat proved a complete impediment to his enjoyment."

In his brief examination of the agrarian condition of Ireland, he brings home to his audience the consequences of wasteful cultivation by the remark—

"People unacquainted with agriculture, and many of those who write dogmatically on the Irish land question are in this condition, quite forget that land is a destructible material, and its productive powers more easily squandered than a pocketful of loose guineas."

In short, whether his topic was ancient Syria or modern Ireland, Lord Dufferin's lucid and impressive statement of his points, with the important facts well worked out, sometimes humorously illustrated, proves that in the art of lecturing he could be singularly successful.

CHAPTER V.

HOME POLITICS AND OFFICIAL EMPLOY.

LORD DUFFERIN reached England from Constantinople in the early summer of 1861; and after a visit to Ireland he set up a hunting establishment at Melton in November.

"Six horses in beautiful order, and in a hard frost. Such is my first experience of Melton." He went off in disgust to Chatsworth, and he was with Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden in December, when the Prince Consort died. In February 1862 Lord Dufferin was charged with the duty of moving the address in the House of Lords in answer to the Queen's Speech, delivered on her behalf from the throne by the Lords Commissioners. His former position in the Household had placed him on a footing of intimacy with the royal family; he was always a faithful friend, full of sympathy with the griefs of those to whom he was attached, whatever might be their condition of life; and in deploring the death of the Prince Consort, as well as in his condolence with the widowed Queen, he spoke with the eloquence of genuine warmth and sincerity of feeling upon a theme that tested, as all funeral orations must do, the powers and tact of a practised orator.

Of the scene and his own feelings he wrote—

"The house was crowded, as were also the galleries, all the ladies being in black. At 5 o'clock exactly the Chancellor began reading the Queen's Speech, and when he concluded, up I rose. There was a dead silence, and for a second the roof and room and benches seemed to me all confounded together in one mass of whirling confusion. However, this sensation soon passed off, and away I went, amid the deadest silence. No cheering, no expression of either dissent or approval, but one long *agony* of solitary exertion, which lasted for about five and fifty minutes, at the end of which I found myself reading the address it was my duty to move."

He concluded his speech by a reference to the deaths of two distinguished statesmen, one of whom, Sir James Graham, had been his guardian and his most trusted monitor, whose advice and guidance had been of the greatest value to him from his boyhood.

"On such an occasion it is impossible not to remember that since we were last assembled the service of two other trusted and faithful counsellors has been lost to the Crown and to the State—the one a member of your Lordships' House, cut off in the prime of his manhood and in the midst of one of the most brilliant careers that ever flattered the ambition of an English statesman—the other a member of the other House of Parliament, after a long life of such uninterrupted labour and unselfish devotion to the business of the country as have seldom characterised the most indefatigable public servant. My Lords, it is not my intention to enumerate the claims upon our gratitude possessed by those two departed statesmen; but, in taking count of the losses sustained by Parliament during the last recess, it is impossible not to pause an instant beside the vacant places of Lord Herbert and Sir James Graham."

When he went home his mother only told him that she approved, thought he had done pretty well, and that the peeresses in the gallery had been crying. Two messages, however, came afterwards from the Queen, in one of which she said, "Lord Dufferin's speech was beautiful, and the Queen does wish Lord Granville to tell him how much she has been touched by it."

On the day after this speech was delivered Lord Dufferin called by appointment at the India Office, when Sir Charles Wood offered him the government of Bombay, which he refused after three days' consideration. On this he writes to the Duchess of Argyll—

"Had I been alone in the world, I would have accepted at once, more especially as Sir Charles Wood very plainly told me that if I did well I might look to being promoted to the Governor Generalship at the expiring of my term of office. But if I had gone, my mother would have been after me in six months; and if she had come the climate would have killed her—heat being more fatal to her condition than anything else. Am I not a dutiful son? for I am very ambitious, and would risk anything myself in order to do something."

Lady Dufferin wrote to a relation—

"Your kind letter of congratulations on Frederic's speech in the House of Lords gave us great pleasure—it was a great success. You know that he was offered the Governorship of Bombay; and I dare say you agree with me in thinking he was right to decline it. It was a fine position, with £12,000 a year; but it would have been banishment for the five best years of his life, great risk to his health, and removing him from the political stage, where I hope he may yet play a part."

Her judgment was probably right; since, apart from filial considerations, it would have been a doubtful step in Lord Dufferin's own interests to leave England for some years just when a political career was opening for him at home. Moreover, the prospect of eventually succeeding to the Governor Generalship of India, upon which he laid stress, was in any case very uncertain; liable to be affected by political change and other accidents. There has, in fact, been no instance of promotion to the Governor Generalship directly from the subordinate governorships. And in the present instance Lord Elgin's sudden death toward the end of 1863 vacated the office within little more than twelve months, at a moment when alarming troubles on the North-West frontier of India induced the Ministry to replace him by a successor of first-class Indian experience and reputation, Sir John Lawrence. Lord Dufferin, indeed, had at least as good a chance of being appointed from England as if he had been for a short time at Bombay. Some months later, when Lord Elgin died, the Duke of Argyll wrote to him that "only Lawrence's name stood in competition with yours for the Indian appointment."

In the autumn of 1862 Lord Dufferin married Harriot, daughter of the late Archibald Rowan Hamilton, of Killyleagh Castle, County Down. Her grandfather, Gavan Rowan Hamilton C.B., was a distinguished naval officer, who served long in the wars against the French Republic and the first French empire, commanded a ship at Navarino in 1827, and rendered such assistance to the Greeks between 1820–24 in the Levant, spending much of his private fortune in their cause, that they erected a statue to his memory in Athens. His father was the well-

known "United Irishman," Archibald Hamilton-Rowan, who was arrested and convicted of sedition in 1792, but escaped to France. The families of Blackwood and Hamilton of Killyleagh are related, having a common ancestor in Hans Hamilton of Dunlop, who died in 1608.

From this time forward to the end Lord Dufferin's letters to his wife attest his affection, and his impatience whenever they were apart. And nearly thirty-five years afterwards he wrote to his mother-in-law that to his marriage he owed the happiness of all his life, and the greater part of its success.

Next year (1863) Lord Dufferin was with his wife in Paris, where they were invited to pass several days at Compiègne, and the subjoined account of his visit written by him to the Duke of Argyll is decidedly interesting. It should be remembered that in November 1863 the Emperor had issued a circular Note to all the European Powers, proposing a congress to deliberate upon the question of Poland, where an insurrection had broken out; and that Lord John Russell, then Foreign Secretary, had refused the concurrence of England in a despatch that set out his objections in a tone of some asperity.

Lord Dufferin writes—

December 20, 1863.—"As it may interest you to know what I gathered from my visit to Compiègne, I will not practise with you the same reticence I have been forced to use with your Duchess: I had several chats with the Emperor, for he evidently affected to assume a kind of cordial, frank, easy style with the English, who were his guests; and the gist of what he said is as follows.

"In the first place, he adopted the thunderclap mode in proposing the Congress from the conviction

that although the idea would be scouted by the Cabinet, it would be hailed with such enthusiasm by the people of England, that you would be forced to agree with him, and even by the time my visit was concluded he was still so convinced of the miscalculation you had made, that he expected your refusal would cost you your seals. His predominant feeling was astonishment at the mistrust felt of him in England, real *bonâ fide* surprise; and when I told him that we should never get over his double dealing about Savoy and Nice, he seemed to consider it a most unaccountable cause of suspicion, explaining his denial of any design of annexation in the following way:

"He had made a secret treaty with the King of Piedmont, to give him a stated increase of territory before requiring any portion of Savoy to be ceded to France. When he was forced into the peace of Villafranca, by our want of sympathy, he had failed to fulfil the conditions stipulated, and no cession therefore could be demanded. It was just at this moment that Malmesbury asked him the question about annexation.* He unhesitatingly replied, *No*, and was quite justified in doing so. Then occurred Garibaldi's revolution, the flight of the Italian princes and the unity of Italy. By an unexpected process the face of things was changed. Victor Emmanuel had become the master of more than the stipulated millions, and the conditions of the secret treaty reacquired their original force. He had denied all intention of acquiring Savoy, but subsequent events had led to an annexation he did not contemplate when he published his denial.

* Lord Malmesbury had left the Foreign Office before the treaty of peace was signed at Villafranca; and probably the reference here is to a despatch sent by Lord John Russell, his successor, to Lord Cowley at Paris. But it may be noted that about March 1859 Lord Derby's government had information of the secret agreement for the cession of Nice and Savoy to France.

"The addresses of the French Colonels published in the *Moniteur* was a simple oversight, and not a designed menace. In the multitude of loyal addresses sent in, it had been impossible to detect the objectionable language in which some of them had been couched.

"None of those about him, whom we imagine he most trusts, seem really in possession of what the French call 'le fond de sa pensée,' and I confess I could not feel quite certain whether the regret he expressed at our rejection of his Congress was real or assumed. The Frenchmen I talked to seemed to consider his design had been serious, and had not yet recovered their astonishment at discovering he had been in earnest, for they had at first imagined it had been simply a parade to cover his retreat from the Polish difficulty.

"He was constantly talking of the great results which the *bonâ fide* English and French alliance might have produced, and as constantly of the extreme improbability of that alliance being able to survive this last shock to its cordiality. He had hoped that, once the Congress started, England and France might have settled all irksome questions their own way.

"When I told him that a lady had informed me 'that the mass of the French people, even the educated ones, scarcely distinguished between Danes and Prussians, or Austrians and Hungarians, and even Russians—but that to Frenchmen all people beyond the Rhine were simply Germans,' and that therefore I supposed all on this side were considered French,—he said that undoubtedly that was a French dream; but that people might dream without ever thinking of carrying their dreams into effect, and that after all he did not see how the acquisition of the Rhenish provinces by France could injure us, and that undoubtedly if there had been a Congress, some slight modification of the northern frontier of France, to the extent perhaps of the extradition of a fortress

here and there, might have been subjected to its consideration. But all this, in such neat and delicate language that no English can render its subtlety. This last observation I thought the most suggestive of anything he said to me. He evidently wishes to render France more compact, and some plan is running through his head by which he thinks he can do so. Both he and the Empress were constantly alluding with envy to our insular position, and contrasting it with the facilities offered to an invader by the frontiers of France.

"It was very interesting talking to him, or rather hearing him talk, and his manner is very pleasant and soothing from its extreme composure. As he goes on, you can fancy yourself in an armchair watching magical wreaths of smoke turning into shape and form over some far-away dreamland. It is this tranquillity of manner which gives him such ascendancy over the volatile French. Combined with his belief in his own destiny, which the Empress told me never wavers, the wonderful success which has hitherto attended his scheming and dreaming is more easily to be understood.

"With regard to the question you put to me, what I feel is this,—that life is slipping by very fast, and that I have very little to show for the years that are gone, and that unless soon I have some opportunity of taking part in affairs, it will be too late altogether, as after forty, the necessary initiation is almost impossible. Whatever there was to be done in this part of the world I have either done, or am in the way of doing, and once a proper system organized, even an Irish estate does not give sufficient occupation.

"Of course I should prefer what would keep me at home, but I do not see much chance of any opening occurring there: consequently I am forced to look abroad, and I turn to Canada, because I should imagine it would be interesting, and especially because the climate would suit my mother, from whom

I could not separate. It was on her account that I refused Bombay, as no very hot climate is possible to her, and the same consideration excludes almost all other foreign governments. When I heard of Lord Elgin's illness I thought it just possible that some change might ensue at one of the Presidencies, and that Monck might move into an Indian vacancy, but I knew this was only a chance, though I did not like to throw it away. I do not know whether Bulwer is to return to Constantinople, but if he did not, I would be glad enough to go there, and intend to tell Johnny as much; but I am afraid such an idea would not be compatible with justice to other more regular members of the diplomatic profession, though I consider myself a legitimate graft on that honourable branch of the public service, after Syria.

"But one thing is certain, I cannot endure to be idle any longer, and though literary occupation is open to me, it will be with great dissatisfaction that I shall subside into that lower form of existence. However, I have occupied too much of my letter already with talking about myself."

From the latter part of this letter it is clear that Lord Dufferin found time hang rather heavily on his hands, and was now quite prepared to accept employment abroad. Early in 1864 the Duke of Argyll had been proposing Lord Dufferin for the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland; but Lord Palmerston had offered it to Lord Wodehouse,* by whom it was accepted; so in November 1864 Lord Dufferin took his first ministerial office as Under Secretary of State for India, which he held until the Liberal government resigned in 1866.

Lord Dufferin's representation of India in Parliament was practically confined to the session of

* Afterwards Lord Kimberley.

1865. During that session he spoke at length once only, in reply to a speech by the Earl of Donoughmore drawing attention to the grievances of the officers of the late East India Company's army. It was his first occasion of addressing the House of Lords in an official capacity; and as he said, the subject was one of so complicated a nature, so encumbered with minute yet important details, that the task of explaining the points at issue both fully and clearly might have tested the ability of a practised speaker. As the whole question related to a state of things that has long disappeared, it may be sufficient here to mention that after the mutiny had disbanded the sepoy regiments in Bengal, it was determined to re-model the whole native army in India on a different basis of organization, under which not only were the native regiments reduced in number, but also the number of the English officers attached to each regiment was materially diminished. The inevitable consequence was the abolition of a large proportion of the commands and emoluments belonging to the old system, so that active employ could not be provided, under the new system, for many of the officers on the roll of the East India Company's army; and their claims on account of loss of promotion, of regimental prospects and pay, had to be considered and adjusted. Lord Dufferin proved unanswerably that all these claims and grievances had been very carefully examined, that liberal provision for the compensation of genuine losses had been made, and that, on the whole, "the balance of advantage in the changes involved by the reorganization had resulted to a material extent in favour of the officers."

On April 7 Lord Dufferin gave a brief account



Walker & Boutall, Ph. Sc

Helen, Lady Dufferin.
(Countess of Gifford)

in the House of Lords of affairs in Bhutan, where there had been some fighting; and in July he spoke briefly regarding the Oudh Talukdars. But Indian affairs were not prominent during the session of 1865; and the few questions of administrative importance that came before Parliament were discussed in the House of Commons. In February 1866 he was transferred to the War Office, where he held the Under-Secretaryship until June, when the Liberal government resigned.

In June 1867 Helen Lady Dufferin died, after a long and very painful illness. In the memoir prefixed to her "Songs and Verses," Lord Dufferin has recorded the fortitude and cheerful patience of his mother during the last months of her life, when she knew that the malady was incurable; and he has described how, on the morning of her death, she bade good-bye, calmly and tenderly, to his wife and their children.

"Thus there went out of the world" (he says) "one of the sweetest, most beautiful, most accomplished, wittiest, most loving, and lovable human beings that ever walked upon the earth. There was no quality wanting to her perfection; and I say this, not prompted by the partiality of a son, but as one well acquainted with the world, and with both men and women. There have been many ladies who have been beautiful, charming, witty, and good, but I doubt whether there have been any who have combined with so high a spirit, and with so natural a gaiety and bright an imagination as my mother's, such strong unerring good sense, tact, and womanly discretion; for these last characteristics, coupled with the intensity of her affections, were the real essence and deep foundations of my mother's nature."

Four months later he wrote to the Duchess of Argyll—

"We are all pretty well here, my wife and children especially so. It was terrible coming back again, but the hurry and pressure of so much business was a good thing, though God knows I missed her advice and sympathy more than ever. I do not find that time makes much difference in one's feelings; though occupation shuts out the remembrance of the past during long intervals, the intervening spaces of recollection are as keen and vivid as ever. Nor do I at all find myself inclined to shun them: on the contrary, the memory of so much love and excellence is a precious and eternal possession."

Mr. J. L. Motley,* the distinguished American diplomatist and man of letters, wrote to Lord Dufferin—

"I have really felt a longing to say to you in words that which I feel myself unable to do, except

* In Mr. Motley's published Correspondence are several references to conversations with Lady Dufferin, among others her well-known description of the fantastic costume in which Mr. Disraeli made his first appearance in London society. For a specimen of overflowing whimsical fun see a letter from Lady Dufferin to her sister Mrs. Norton, who had written to enquire whether she would be expected to dinner one evening at Highgate, when there was a downpour of rain.

"DEAR CAR,

"Refuges have been erected at all the expoged parts of the road, pattens are provided for entering the dining-room; water souches and flounders will be the staple of the repast, with ducks, snipes, and other water birds. Beds—water beds—are provided for belated travellers; in short, every aqueous comfort that can be expected.

"I trust we shall be able to keep our heads above water, and have no doubt the little aquatic party will get on swimmingly.

"Seriously, you will all be very welcome; and what signifies the weather to determined souls in waterproof soles?

"Your affectionate Naiad,

"H. D."

[Motley's Correspondence, i. p. 346.]

most imperfectly, by letter, how deeply I have sympathized with you in the irreparable loss which you have so recently sustained.

"It was among my most cherished anticipations —when returning for a few weeks' visit to England— to renew the acquaintance, the friendship even, with which I had been honoured by your mother. And I was the more shocked and saddened by the fatal news which I saw in the papers, because I had been erroneously informed that her illness had been taking a favourable turn.

"During these few days at Frampton, with Mrs. Norton and the Sheridans—those to whom she was so near and dear that her image is inseparable from them—the atmosphere seemed full of her presence. It was difficult for me to believe that she was no more. I seemed still to hear the musical tones of her voice, to enjoy the never-ceasing play of her wit and her subtle intellect, to feel the spell of her dainty, sportive, kindly spirit. All those delicate and most feminine graces and fascinations, which none can ever forget who had the privilege of even a brief personal acquaintance with her, appeared realities still. I say no more, for it would be an impertinence in me to attempt the portraiture of one so distinguished —even in a family where beauty and genius seem a birthright—of one whom there are so many to weep for and to praise. But as I had the happiness to know her well during my residence in England, and to receive very great kindness, hospitality, and proofs of friendship from her, which are for ever treasured in my memory, I venture to write these few words to say to you how sincerely I always honoured and appreciated her. Very rarely have so much personal charm and so much intellect been united with such tenderness, devotion, and truth of heart."

Helen's Tower, standing on the highest ground of the hill that slopes upward from Clandeboye,

commanding a wide prospect over land and sea, was dedicated by Lord Dufferin to his mother in her lifetime, and remains as a monument of his devotion to her. After its completion in 1861, Lord Dufferin laid some of the chief living poets of England under contribution for epigraphical verses.

Tennyson's very graceful lines * were acknowledged in a letter of enthusiastic admiration—

October 8, 1861.—"It is very rare in this world that we poor human creatures can make each other supremely happy, but that is what you have made me. I received your note this morning containing the inscription, and all the day I have had that elated feeling which only great good-fortune brings. It is a marvel to me how you have been able to understand so well the kind of thing I wanted. After I had sent off my letter, I felt as if the whole subject must still remain a blank to you, and that I had asked for an impossibility. Indeed I myself scarcely knew what I wanted. I only felt in a kind of blind way that somehow something beautiful might be written, but until your packet arrived I could arrive at no conception of what form it could take. But you have solved the mystery in a manner surpassing all my expectations. The thought is so grand and simple, and my tower speaks in such nervous granite-like words. I think I agree with Mrs. Tennyson in preferring the first form, though at the same time I half grudge every

* "Helen's Tower, here I stand,
Dominant over sea and land.
Son's love built me, and I hold
Mother's love in lettered gold.
Would my granite girth were strong
As either love, to last as long.
I should wear my crown entire
To and thro' the Doomsday fire,
And be found of angel eyes
In earth's recurring Paradise."—*Tennyson.*



HELEN'S TOWER.

Photo, R. Welch, Belfast.]

[*To face p.* 144 (*vol. i.*).

line that is omitted, but this part of the question I cannot decide until I have seen my mother, whose taste is perfect, and who first taught me to understand and delight in your poems.

"What I like so too is the quaint Teutonic feeling which somehow seems to me to pervade the lines, at least so I fancy, and that is just what I had desired. You have indeed crowned all my Tower and all my wishes, and most grateful am I. Hundreds of years hence perhaps, men and women, sons and daughters of my house, will read in what you have written a story that must otherwise have been forgotten, and will reckon the kindness you have done me as one of the most honourable and noteworthy traditions of their line.

"Ever yours faithfully and gratefully."

Other poems added later—such as Rudyard Kipling's fine stanzas in honour of Harriot Lady Dufferin's generous and successful exertions on behalf of the Indian women, and Tennyson's verses addressed to Lord Dufferin, in gratitude for kindness to his son Lionel during his fatal illness in India—are among the inscriptions that decorate the upper chamber. So that the Tower, founded on affection, and adorned by friendship, is the shrine of many pleasant and honourable family recollections.

Lord Dufferin had quitted the War Office, as has been stated, in June 1866, and when Mr. Gladstone's ministry took office at the end of 1868, he became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. In the interval he had accepted from the Tory government the chairmanship of a Royal Commission to inquire into the state of military education; and their first Report, drafted by him, was submitted in August 1869. It may be noticed as a somewhat unusual feature of an official document—illustrating Lord Dufferin's

predilection, maintained throughout his life, for classic literature—that the Report is prefaced by a quotation in the original Greek from Xenophon's Memorabilia, of a passage describing the natural gifts and acquired knowledge that must unite in a master of strategy.

We have to bear in mind that in 1869 a large majority of the officers who entered the British Army obtained their commissions by purchase, and were only required to pass an easy examination before appointment to their regiments; so that the proportion of those who went through Sandhurst was comparatively small. Some account of the condition of military education at that time may still have some interest, if only for the purpose of comparison with the state of affairs elucidated by much more recent investigation. Lord Dufferin's Commission found that at Sandhurst the system of teaching was very inadequate, that the teaching staff was inefficient, ill-organized, and out of personal touch with the students; that the inducements to industry were very slight; and that the moral and intellectual tone prevailing among the cadets left much to be desired. The "cramming process," they reported, is almost universally resorted to by those who seek admission to the Army either through the colleges or as candidates for direct commissions, of whom scarcely more than five per cent. could be traced as coming direct from the public schools. And much of what was unsatisfactory in the conduct of the cadets was attributed to the time passed in the crammer's pupil-room. Within the college the discipline and the instruction were alike inferior, much idleness prevailed; and the professional training was pronounced to be slovenly and imperfect.

In short, the discovery made by this inquiry

into the state of military education was that the system, if any could be said to exist, was exceedingly bad. The Commission found much doubt prevailing whether the drill and discipline given at Sandhurst were of any use at all; and they were led to consider seriously whether, on a review of practical results, the college ought not to be abolished. For that large majority of the officers who passed at once into the Army by purchase, no military education whatever was provided before they joined their regiments, and very little afterwards; though the Staff college was open to a few.

The two main principles adopted by the Commission in their recommendations for reform were, first, that some degree of general education ought to precede professional instruction; and, secondly, that systematic professional instruction ought to be a part of regimental training. With the former object they proposed to bring the entrance examinations into closer relation with the course of study at public schools; and with the latter object they desired that a staff of military instructors should be incorporated with the general military establishments. To enter into any details of their scheme would be now out of place; yet upon Lord Dufferin's Report we may accord to him the credit of having been a pioneer in the arduous and hitherto interminable enterprise of providing the British army with the necessary professional education. His views upon the proper methods of training the cadets and instructing them as regimental officers were on the whole sound and judicious; his recommendations, if they had been acted upon, would undoubtedly have been valuable improvements. But he was a pioneer only in the sense of having shown a way that was not followed;

since the representations and proposals of his Commission appear to have been generally disregarded. In 1901 a Committee appointed to inquire into the state of military education, went over almost precisely the same ground as that which had been explored, thirty-two years earlier, by Lord Dufferin's Commission. It appears from their Report that "in consequence of a recommendation made by the Royal Commission of 1869," a Director General, with a staff of officers, had been appointed to supervise military education, but that the post had been abolished in 1899. The motive of abolishing it was understood to have been economy; and in fact the supervision exercised can hardly have been worth its cost; for the Report of 1902 hits very nearly the same blots and gaps in the system then existing, as were detected by the inquiry of 1869. At Sandhurst, according to the second Report, the cadets had absolutely no inducement to work, and the instructors had no inducement to teach; the plague of idleness still infected the college; the professors had been carelessly selected; while nothing had been done on the recommendation of Lord Dufferin's Commission in regard to the special qualifications that should govern the choice of the college governor. The lapse of a generation had made so little difference in the system at Sandhurst that the Committee were enabled to verify and corroborate in all important particulars the defects and shortcomings registered thirty-three years previously by their predecessors.

Another Report on military education was submitted by Lord Dufferin's Commission in 1870; and early in 1871 he was again appointed to preside over an Admiralty Committee to examine the designs upon which ships of war had been constructed. The institution of this inquiry was due to the loss of the

Captain, a ship of war that had capsized on the first trial-voyage. In regard to the proceedings of this Commission, upon which Lord Dufferin was placed manifestly by reason of his well-known interest in nautical matters, it is only necessary to record that the problem set before them appears to have been "how to unite in one ship the power of sailing, steaming, and carrying both heavy guns and armour." The question of combining a very high degree of offensive and defensive power with real efficiency under sail, was pronounced by a large majority of the Commission to be insoluble; so that their proceedings may be said to have expedited, in naval architecture, the conclusion upon this point that is now understood to have been adopted.

Lord Dufferin had by this time secured a position of the kind that lays open fair prospects of future distinction to an Englishman of his rank and ability. In his early mission to Syria he had done the State good service abroad. At home he had steadily supported the Liberal party in Parliament, and upon Irish questions he had both written and spoken effectively. He had held three offices under the government, though not of the first class; and he had presided over two Royal Commissions. He had seen the outer world, and had written of his travels with gaiety and native humour. His reputation had that kind of attractive brilliancy which is obtained by the combination of solid political qualities with literary accomplishment and great social popularity. When, therefore, he submitted to Mr. Gladstone in 1871 his wish that his public services, particularly the share that he had taken in Irish affairs, might be considered as justifying a claim for the revival in his

favour of an extinct Earldom, to which he could establish some title by descent, he found the Prime Minister well disposed to entertain it. The Earldom of Clanbrassil had become extinct with the second Earl's death in 1675; but Sir John Blackwood, Lord Dufferin's great-grandfather, had married a niece of the first Earl, who had been created Baroness of Dufferin and Clandeboye in her own right; and Lord Dufferin was now heir-general of this branch of the Hamiltons of Clanbrassil and the possessor for the most part of their estates. If, he wrote in his letter to Mr. Gladstone, the relinquishment of the office which he then held under the existing government were likely to facilitate other administrative arrangements, he was quite ready to vacate it, and he added characteristically—

"I am rather inclined to think that whatever ability I possess would be more usefully employed in literary than in political labours, and that five or six years spent in writing a really good, impartial history of Ireland would be as useful an employment as any other, and might help to soothe and compose the angry reminiscences which so embitter the relations of Catholics and Protestants, and of this country with England."

That men for whom nature or circumstance has marked out one course of life, or some particular direction for their activity, are constantly feeling an attraction toward some other course for which they are much less fitted, has been a matter of common observation since the days of Horace. Men of action long for literary quiet; literary men dream of bold adventures or the game of politics; the ways that are clearly designed for them, whether stirring or sequestered, become monotonous. Lord Dufferin could

write with vigour and skill upon subjects in which he was actively and immediately engaged; he could turn his actual experiences to good account; he had the gift of description that belongs to imaginative men. From boyhood his reading had been wide and various; he had an excellent literary taste; and though it is plain that he did not work hard at school or at Oxford, he was one of those for whom a good introduction to the classics had a solid value, because they never drop the acquaintance, but on the contrary improve it diligently in later life, with all the advantages of men who have seen the world. When, in 1868, he was addressing the students at University College, London, he said—

"In looking back on my own youth, the study of Latin grammar, Latin verses, and Latin composition, in none of which did I ever attain any great proficiency, now occurs to me as the sum total of the official instruction I received from the time I was six years old, to the time I was twenty; yet making every allowance for the unpromising material with which my masters had to deal, I cannot but think that something more than this ought to have been the sum total of fourteen years of education; at all events this is the reflection I remember making when I stood up to be examined for my degree at Oxford, and the examiner called on me to construe a passage in Cæsar, which I distinctly recollected had caused me considerable corporal and mental anguish as a child of eight at a preparatory school; whereas, on the other hand, I must admit that I neither knew nor cared for Greek until I learnt it a few years ago as I would have learnt a modern language, during the odd moments of my spare time; though now its study has become that portion of my day's recreation to which I look forward with the greatest pleasure."

Practical politics, personal intercourse with statesmen, travel, and experience of government in different stages of society, are better than erudition for a real understanding of Greek and Roman civilization. But with a life thus filled up profound study is usually incompatible; so that a complete and unbiassed history of Ireland was a work that most probably lay beyond the range of Lord Dufferin's capacities, while it would have certainly placed a perilous strain upon his impartiality, for he was too intimately connected with Irish controversies and interests. Unquestionably his distinctive vocation was for public office, for dealing with men and with important affairs of State, with the business of the world around him; and in the pursuit of severe literature, in sedentary studies, he would have abandoned this natural superiority. Mr. Gladstone, a statesman who more than once announced, in pauses between periods of energetic Parliamentary warfare, his determination to forsake politics for books, took Lord Dufferin's literary aspirations in sympathetic earnest, and replied—

September 23, 1871.—"I have considered further the question of the Earldom, and Granville has seen the papers.

"We shall be sorry to lose you as a colleague, but I can well understand that you may feel an office of the nature of that which you now hold to be a restraint upon your application of your time and powers in the manner to which you incline, and which I hope and anticipate will be beneficial to literature and to history.

"Your claim to the Earldom I think a very fair one, and I am quite prepared to submit it to the Queen. Indeed I shall do this with much satisfaction, not less on public than on private grounds, for your

early advocacy of changes in the land laws of Ireland well deserves to be honourably commemorated. . . ."

On these very honourable considerations the promotion was readily granted. Yet one cannot feel sure that Lord Dufferin read with unqualified satisfaction a reply in which the Prime Minister takes serious note of what seems to have been merely a temporary inclination to exchange office for literature. What we know is that he did not forthwith resign the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, and that, so far from retiring on his Earldom (it was granted in 1871) to his library, within five months from this date Lord Dufferin allowed himself to be put into nomination for the most arduous office under the British Crown, the Viceroyalty of India. At any rate we hear nothing more of the projected History of Ireland. The subjoined memorandum, dated February 1872, is taken from among his papers—

"On the afternoon of February 12th news of Lord Mayo's assassination reached the India Office, and on the following day Lord Dufferin received a note from the Duke of Argyll, Secretary of State for India, requesting him to call upon him.

"The Duke then said to Lord Dufferin that before he should see his colleagues the next day, he was anxious to know whether Lord Dufferin would like to go out to India as Lord Mayo's successor in the Viceroyalty—that he had seen Lord Lawrence that morning, and that Lord Lawrence had of his own accord suggested Lord Dufferin's name. That he [the Duke] cordially agreed in the suggestion, and thought that there were only three names which could be mentioned in connexion with the appointment—those of Lord Napier of Ettrick, Lord Kimberley, and his own. That Lord Kimberley could scarcely be spared from home, and that Lord Napier's mother, being a

very aged person, desired his return. That he had written to Mr. Gladstone that morning reviewing the circumstances, but having added in that letter as possible candidates Lord Napier of Magdala and Lord Spencer.

"In reply Lord Dufferin told the Duke that he neither feared the climate nor the labour, but that of his fitness and ability for such a post he was not a good judge. That he had been walking with Lord Kimberley in the morning, that they had met Sir Erskine Perry returning from the India Office, who mentioned that their two names had been suggested for the Governor Generalship, and that Lord Kimberley had replied that the illness of his son put his acceptation of the office quite out of the question."

The Indian Viceroyalty, however, was given to Lord Northbrook; but a month later the Governor Generalship of Canada was offered to Lord Dufferin; and Lord Kimberley, in acknowledging from the Colonial Office his letter of acceptance, writes, in reference to the appointment—"It is not often that public interest and private friendship point so exactly to the same conclusion." Lord Carnarvon, who congratulated him "most seriously and heartily" on his appointment, added—"It is to my mind one of the greatest that the Crown can offer, and to no one on your side of the House could it be better entrusted than to you."

CHAPTER VI.

IRELAND.

It will have been seen that up to the year 1872, when Lord Dufferin left England in June for Canada, his political occupations, except while he had been in Syria, had been at home. He had held office in two Liberal ministries, he had taken his share in the debates of the Upper House, and he had never relaxed his earnest and arduous efforts for the improvement of his estates, or his solicitude for the general condition of Ireland. But for the next four and twenty years he was within the United Kingdom only during very short intervals between successive appointments to embassies and Governor Generalships, so that for attention to matters of internal administration he had thenceforward little leisure or opportunity. At this point, therefore, in the narrative of his life it is thought that some review of his connexion with Irish politics may conveniently come in.

With the question of Irish land legislation Lord Dufferin, as a landlord, was intimately concerned; and from the time when he came of age he had given close attention, as has been seen, to projects for improving the relations between landlord and tenant. Although he naturally treated the subject from the standpoint of a landlord, his interest in the welfare of Ireland and the Irish people was deep and genuine; he had always striven to alleviate recognized grievances,

and to strike at what he held to be the roots of agricultural mismanagement. But the futility of such superficial measures as had been hitherto tried for the remedy of chronic evils, was being proved by the condition of the country, where political animosities, complicated by agrarian discontent, were now again bringing on a crisis of agitation that demanded the interposition of Parliament. Lord Dufferin threw himself into the discussion with persevering activity. In this chapter an endeavour will be made to give a connected account of his opinions and writings, and of his share in the legislative debates and proceedings up to the passing of Mr. Gladstone's Act in 1870.

In March 1865 a Select Committee had been appointed to inquire into the operation of the Act of 1860, on the tenure and improvement of land in Ireland. Before this Committee Lord Dufferin underwent a long examination, when he explained in detail his views and conclusions regarding the operation of tenant-right in Ulster, and the method that he had consistently advocated for an equitable adjustment of compensation to outgoing tenants for their improvements. The object of the Act of 1860 was to simplify the tenures of agricultural land by placing the relations between owners and tenants entirely upon the basis of strict contract, both as to the duration of the leases, and as to the compensation claimable for improvements at the end of the tenure. The effect of this law, if it had come into use, would have been to defeat any subsequent claim by the tenant to be compensated for improvements, unless that claim could be proved by the evidence of a contract, express or implied; while as to the past it made no provision whatever. But up to 1865 the Act had remained so far a dead letter, that not a single application for

compensation had been made under its procedure by the tenants; and it was into this state of things that the Committee were directed to inquire.

In his evidence before this Committee Lord Dufferin said—

"Although all the lands I now possess formed part of the original Clandeboye grant (James the First's reign) ninety per cent. of my property was acquired by purchase; the proportion I hold direct from the Crown is very small, and a similar process of disintegration and repurchase by the original grantees has taken place in respect to many of such grants.

"Small farms on my estate have not been much subdivided during the last thirty years: but I happen to have in my possession a survey of the estate made for the first Lord Clandeboye in 1630. Each of the separate tenancies was very carefully laid down, and coloured on the map. I have not taken the trouble to count the aggregate number of those tenancies, but I imagine that where at that time was one tenancy there are now forty or fifty.

"The subdivisions were made invariably by the tenants. My impression is that formerly those tenancies were leasehold—long leases of three lives—and it was during that period, I think, that these subdivisions took place. I believe the subdivision was usually made by the tenant to give a part of the farm to a member of his family."

The evidence given by Lord Dufferin defines plainly his position in regard to the question of improvements. He was decidedly in favour of admitting the right of an industrious tenant to fair compensation in the case of eviction or the termination of his holdings; and he would have laid down rules fixing the scale and the conditions upon which the amount should be calculated. So far as the Ulster tenant-right represented the custom whereby

the incoming tenant was supposed to indemnify the outgoing tenant for his permanent improvements, Lord Dufferin held that the usage was excellent; but he maintained, as he always had done, that the sum paid represented the difference between a fair rent and a rack rent, and was also given by the incomer as the price of quiet occupation. And since this payment was often excessive, the small farmers were frequently ruined by having to exhaust their capital and credit before they entered into possession of the holding; the largest prices being given, as a general rule, for small farms that were utterly incapable of improvement. Lord Dufferin's remedy was to determine the just value of improvements by the impartial arbitration of experts; though he would have maintained the landlord's right of veto on the claims for exhausted improvements, as he held that an amicable agreement on this point ought to be the preliminary to granting a long lease. He stated in the course of his evidence that he had expended large sums in buying up this tenant-right, disbursing to the outgoing tenant the money that he might expect to receive on the transfer of the farm, in order that the new tenant might enter upon it unencumbered by debt. On this account he spent £18,000 during a term of years, by payments to outgoing tenants of sums that he made no attempt to recover from the tenant who succeeded to the holding. He desired, however, that all his remarks and recommendations should be taken as applying only to that part of Ireland (Ulster) with which he was practically familiar, and where, he said, the good relations subsisting between landlord and tenant had been the cause, not the consequence, of this custom of tenant-right. In their final report the Committee

recommended that the principle of the Act of 1860—securing compensation to the tenants only upon improvements made with the landlord's consent—should be maintained, though they suggested certain minor modifications.

The law which was enacted to ratify the substitution of contract for status in the matter of Irish land tenure was thus upheld; and the inevitable effect was to sharpen the real points at issue. Lord Dufferin's proposals, which were not accepted, had been made in the hope that a liberal treatment of compensation might satisfy the farmers; but a different opinion had been recorded by an advocate of tenant-right, who said that a mere Compensation Bill would be of no real use to the occupiers, unless the occupiers of land possessed security of tenure granted by Act of Parliament. So that the contest was being steadily pushed home to the fundamental issue, whether the absolute ownership of the landlords should be maintained, or whether the tenants' demand for some kind of co-proprietorship could be admitted. And this question could no longer be determined by legal or economical argument; it had become social and political. Ireland had relapsed into one of its recurrent phases of rebellious disaffection; and this time the outward and visible sign of fermentation was Fenianism. It will be remembered that while during the preceding years there had been a great outflow of Irish emigrants to America, the ending, in 1865, of the civil war between the Northern and Southern States had thrown loose upon the country numbers of restless men habituated to fighting and to the ideas of armed revolt. In the beginning of 1866 Earl Grey moved for a Committee of the whole Upper House to consider the state of

Ireland, where the Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended, and Fenian conspiracies were rampant. In a speech against this motion, Lord Dufferin opposed it because he believed it to be "founded on the altogether erroneous assumption that the evils, the discontent, and the disaffection which exist to a certain extent in Ireland, are the result of legislation." In the course of his argument he declared that no exceptional legislation would remove these symptoms of a deep-rooted malady, which he affirmed to be entirely unconnected either with the Irish Church establishment or with questions between landlord and tenant. His view was that the country was just then traversing a period of painful yet necessary and beneficial transition, that emigration was the wholesome outlet for a congested population, too numerous for the soil; and that with the steady influx of capital and a better economical distribution of the land into larger holdings upon which a farmer could subsist, the prosperity of the country was making a perceptible advance. All these tendencies to improvement, he argued, were arrested only by that insurrectionary spirit of disorder and of hostility to the English government which the Fenian leaders were propagating among an ignorant peasantry. A copy of this speech was acknowledged by Mr. Gladstone in the letter subjoined—

May 18, 1866.—"I thank you very much for your speech and appendix. I have been reading them with all the care I could, for I sincerely desire to know something of these Irish land questions, and I am aware that I can repair to no higher source.

"Our debate on the Landlord and Tenant Bill last night was an interesting but in some particulars really a painful one."

Lord Dufferin's views, in fact, represented that solution of the Irish enigma to which the conservative English mind, with its inbred traditions of masterful administration, and of society founded upon the just and reasonable execution of laws, is naturally predisposed. Let the government resolutely and impartially discharge its primary duty of preserving order, of upholding undeniable property rights, and of enforcing reasonable contracts; let the land laws be amended where they press too hardly on the cultivator; let small holdings, which cannot support him, be discouraged; consolidate the farms; let emigration drain off the stagnant population—and the chronic malady that has so long afflicted Ireland will disappear. It is not easy to deny that resolute perseverance in such a course of treatment might have eventually worked a cure, if the disease had not been too inveterate and too violent for slow restorative processes. The contest was now openly waged for possession of the soil. The landlords could not be expected to entertain any measure that struck at their legal right of property; they saw clearly that the admission in any shape of double ownership would operate like the thin edge of a wedge, it would gradually be driven deeper by persistent pressure, until it broke up the proprietary system and severed them from the land. On the other side was a vehemently determined resistance to any palliatives or reforms that would strengthen the landlords' position; for the tactics of this party were to discredit and demolish it. They were convinced that the land question was to be settled, in the words used by Lord Stanley in 1845, by rooting the occupier not out of but into the soil; and their avowed object was peasant proprietorship. Into the field of this controversy Lord Dufferin

entered with a series of letters to the *Times*, which he afterwards republished, enlarged and revised in the form of a pamphlet, on "Irish Emigration and the Tenure of Land in Ireland." He pleaded with much force and with an effective array of facts against the indictment which charged the landlords with responsibility for the depopulation of Ireland by wholesale and hard-hearted evictions of their tenantry, and which imputed the miseries and exile of the people to the iniquity of the Irish land laws. His main argument, which need not here be followed out into details, was directed toward proving by the evidence of land registers, records, and statistics, and by comparison of the condition of the Irish peasantry with that of the same class in other neighbouring countries, that the true cause of the distress and widespread agrarian discontent in Ireland was traceable to over-population, that emigration was the inevitable and beneficial remedy, and that in any case to ascribe the exodus to harsh and unjust evictions was to propagate an unfounded calumny. That there had been bad landlords he did not deny; but he observed that so far as the evils of the existing situation were attributable to historical causes and political oppression, the landlords as well as the tenants had been more or less victims of past errors; they had become entangled in a vicious system, and had been left to deal as best they might with the consequences of overcrowding the land with an agricultural population that agriculture was quite unable to support.

Lord Dufferin's defence of the landlords might be unanswerable; he might prove that they only claimed property rights that were universally recognized; but he made no impression upon agitators who had resolved that the Irish landlord and his indefeasible

rights must go, or upon economists and statesmen who were convinced that nothing less would pacify the country.

Mr. Isaac Butt published, in 1867, a pamphlet mainly devoted toward contesting Lord Dufferin's facts and disputing his conclusions. He admitted, however, that Lord Dufferin's views were only legitimate, indeed necessary, deductions from the theories of the absolute right of property in the landlord, and from the economic argument which is employed against any interference with contracts relating to land. But to these theories and arguments he demurred. The premises assumed by each of the two parties were thus radically different; so that the issue still lay between the assertion of the landlord's property right as unquestionable, subject to reasonable use of it, and the contention that this right had become a wrong, that it constituted an oppressive monopoly, rendering fair and voluntary contracts between landlord and tenant impossible.

The remedy demanded by Mr. Butt was to create for the tenant some form of proprietary occupancy, some fixity of tenure. Mr. Bright had already devised his more thorough-going scheme for enabling the peasantry of Ireland to buy up the estates of British noblemen who might be owners of property in both countries; three-fourths of the purchase money to be advanced by the government. And about this time Mr. Mill interposed with a "Plan for the Pacification of Ireland," framed upon his well-known principle that "because land is a thing which exists in limited quantity, the original inheritance of mankind, which whoever appropriates keeps others out of its possession," it is competent for Parliament, on proof of paramount and indisputable

necessity, such as the danger of civil war, to deal with private estates in land in the manner most conducive to the well-being of the community. His proposal was to bring the landed estates of all proprietors in Ireland to a forced sale, their price being fixed by parliamentary commissioners, to transfer the property thus released to the tenants at the time in occupancy, and to collect the quit-rents for the State by official agency. Against this formidable champion Lord Dufferin entered the lists by the publication of a pamphlet * in which he subjected Mill's principles and proposals to close and in many respects weighty criticism. By Mill's plan the landlord's indefeasible right of property was altogether broken up and set aside, and Lord Dufferin fought strenuously in defence of property, arguing that, if Mill's principle were admitted, it might and would be applied to many other kinds of limited raw material for labour beside land; and objecting that his proposal would be seriously unjust to the landlord, amounting to a confiscation of immense sums invested in the purchase and improvement of their estates; while the condition of the tenant and of his agriculture would not (he said) be bettered by it, but would in the end become much worse—

"You would not have got rid of landlordism: you would only have substituted a crowd of needy landlords for the present more affluent proprietors. Eviction for non-payment of rent would be rife as ever; while dispossession from other causes, such as waste, extravagance, and bad management, would be multiplied far in excess of the small proportion that is now effected on such accounts. . . . Nevertheless, if it could be really brought home to my understanding and conscience that the welfare of my tenants is

* 1868.

incompatible with my possession of an estate in Ireland, and that their condition would be improved if it were administered by a public officer, I should be loth to place my private interests in opposition to a great national good.

"But neither in the past history of my estate nor in its present condition do I find anything to justify its being subjected to special and revolutionary legislation. When it came originally into my family some two hundred and fifty years ago, the principal portion of it was forest and morass. A tradition still exists that a squirrel could go from one end of it to another without once touching the ground. Under the auspices of my predecessors, it has been gradually brought into cultivation, and its resources developed. The relations between them and their tenantry, regulated and defined by written contracts from the original settlement, have been always friendly, and I trust as advantageous to the one as to the other. When I came of age, almost the whole of the estate was under lease. At this moment upwards of 5000 acres are occupied by tenants whose leases date from the end of the last century or from the commencement of this: some of these outstanding leases have been eighty and ninety years in existence."

At any rate one great advantage, according to Mr. Mill, was to be anticipated from this sweeping reform —the reconciliation of Ireland to English rule.

"I confess" (Lord Dufferin observes) "I do not see that this is a necessary consequence. Indeed, if the English government insists with rigour on its rights as a landlord, it is more likely to incur the hatred, than to win the love, of its new dependants. If Irish landlords are really as obnoxious as is asserted, the change will only have realized, on behalf of the Irish nation, the aspiration of the ancient tyrant, that all his enemies might have but one neck. Of course it cannot be denied that if the British nation chooses to

make a present of the land to the present 400,000 Irish tenants who now occupy it,—for nothing, or next to nothing, or even at a moderate rent,—those 400,000 individuals will be highly pleased, for the simple reason, that any distribution of wealth or property to the indigent is sure to be welcome; but even after England shall have bribed them with so coveted a boon, it is doubtful whether her new mercenaries would eventually separate themselves from whatever anti-English sentiment may be developed in the rest of the community. For it must be remembered that though the population of Ireland is mainly agricultural, the tenant-farmers form only half, and that the smallest half, of the agricultural class. The position of the agricultural labourer will not have been affected by such generosity. Nay, his prospects will have been somewhat deteriorated, as a peasant proprietary, though they cannot do without the labourer at particular seasons of the year, are not likely to prove very liberal employers. The farm-servant therefore would remain in pretty much the same frame of mind as at present. The population of the towns and villages, the small shopkeeping class, nay, even the sons of the farmers themselves, would have no stronger motives than they have at present to regard Great Britain with affection. Nay, after our country gentlemen, and the numerous classes now in one way or another associated with them, shall have been extirpated, and Ireland has been reduced to a nation of priests and peasants, is it likely that the Imperial policy and the Imperial prestige will become more popular than at present?"

From the subjoined letter it appears that the writer (Lord Arthur Russell) had brought Mr. Mill face to face with Lord Dufferin at breakfast, for a discussion of the Irish question; and that Lord Dufferin at least held his own against a mighty logician.

(To Lord Dufferin.) *March* 10, 1868.—"You have fulfilled the wishes I expressed at breakfast on Saturday. You have given the great philosopher a lesson in the art of controversial writing. You have discussed like a gentleman and Mill has not argued like a philosopher. The *Times* says you regard him with 'superstitious reverence'—it was exceedingly wise to do so, when you were preparing to roll him over and over so neatly. I am delighted with your polemical tone, you have not even called the writer in the *Spectator* uncivil names. The *Times* is quite wrong in saying that you have given yourself unnecessary trouble—there are millions to whom these things must be said over and over again."

Mr. Bright wrote—

March 17, 1868.—"I must write to tell you how much I feel obliged to you for your most kind note, and how glad I am that you can express your belief that my speech will do some good in Ireland. It is out of the fullness of the heart that the mouth speaketh—and since my journeys in Ireland in the years 1849 and 1852, the Irish question has often pressed upon me with great weight.

"I thank you also for your pamphlet, which I have read with great interest. I need not tell you here that I do not agree with Mr. Mill.

"I suppose now we begin a real contest on the Irish Church Question. This debate is but a preliminary skirmish—and ministries may fall and parliaments be dissolved before the main contest is decided. The tone taken last night by Mr. Gladstone will stimulate opinion and action in every part of the kingdom."

It would, however, be superfluous to follow this controversy further than is necessary for the impartial explanation of Lord Dufferin's personal views and writings on the Irish land question, which was the

main interest of his life. His arguments, whether from right or from expediency, were overruled; and the main issue has very recently been decided against him by the passing of an Act that resembles Mr. Bright's plan in some of its essential provisions. The grand experiment is now on its trial; though it is probably reserved for a new generation to see whether Lord Dufferin's predictions of the political consequences of establishing a peasant proprietary in Ireland will or will not be fulfilled.

In 1867 the Conservative government introduced a Bill which to some extent adopted one of Lord Dufferin's suggestions, by providing that a tenant, before making improvements, should obtain the consent, not of the landlord, but of a commissioner for improvements. But the landlords opposed any provision entitling a tenant to claim compensation on improvements made without their consent; and Lord Cairns, writing to Lord Dufferin, laid down as indispensable the principle that the compensation should be the unexhausted or unrepaid value of the improvements, and *not* the increased letting value of the land. The tenant-right party naturally objected to any such limitations, so the Bill was dropped; and nothing more was attempted until the Liberal party again returned to office.

About this time Lord Dufferin appears to have pressed upon Mr. Gladstone some public invitation to Ireland. The visit was not made, but Mr. Gladstone replied—

July 28, 1867.—"I am much flattered by the invitation you have transmitted to me in terms of so much kindness, but I do not find that word warm enough for the occasion, and remembering the position into which circumstances have often thrown

me towards Ireland, I must venture to add I am greatly touched by the feeling which has dictated the conduct of those whom you represent."

On his accession, as Prime Minister, to office in December 1868, Mr. Gladstone wrote to Lord Dufferin the letter subjoined—

December 9, 1868.—"I earnestly hope you will join the administration which I have undertaken to form. The Cabinet is now, I may say, full: but I am able to offer you the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster. In this office I do not doubt you will find very considerable opportunities of seeing Her Majesty, who is anxious for an investigation of its affairs, and thinks the management might be placed on a better footing. But we should also I hope be able to derive great advantage from your knowledge and experience in all those questions which relate to Ireland, and which form so large a part of the design of the administration."

The offer was accepted, and very soon after Lord Dufferin had joined the ministry, Mr. Gladstone introduced his Bill for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, which was sent up to the Lords in June 1869. It appears probable that the increase of turbulence in Ireland at this time, and during the years immediately preceding, had gradually convinced Lord Dufferin that this measure had become a political necessity. In his speech on Lord Grey's motion in 1866, he had declared that—

"the presence of the Established Church in Ireland has not anything to do with the present disaffection. If the revenues of that Establishment were transferred by a prospective measure to take effect on the death of the present incumbents, I do not believe that would

keep a single man from crossing the Atlantic, or prevent the casting of a single Fenian bullet."

When, however, Mr. Gladstone's Bill came before the Upper House in 1869, Lord Dufferin gave it his unqualified support. He repeated, indeed, that "with Fenianism he had never thought the existence of the Protestant Church had any immediate connexion." But he went on to say—

"Looking at the case from the calmest point of view, I think it must be admitted that the Established Church can only be regarded by every educated Irishman as a relic of a hateful history, and as a symbol of an unjust domination; while by the less educated the undue pretensions and prerogatives of that Church must be taken as a reflection on their own faith and their own clergy"—

And he affirmed in very forcible language that the Establishment, with the taxation levied to support it, was in the highest degree obnoxious to the Roman Catholic people of Ireland, dangerous to the State, and discreditable to Parliament. In his address to the Social Science Congress at Belfast in 1867, Lord Dufferin had already pronounced a distinct opinion that disendowment in some form, partial or complete, must be expected. Nevertheless the vehemence with which in 1869 he expounded the pernicious iniquity of the existing system, surprised and disappointed, not altogether unreasonably, those who had hitherto counted him among the defenders of the Irish Church. Meanwhile the agitation in Ireland was increasing. Some letters that he wrote to the Duke of Argyll in 1869 are here inserted regarding the state of the country, with Lord Dufferin's views and forebodings thereupon.

January 11, 1869.—"Do any of you fifteen Deities, sitting in your ministerial Olympus, cast an eye towards these forlorn regions? If you do you may perhaps have learned that a good many people have been shot lately, and it may occur to you, in a languid sort of manner, that not an unimportant function of government is the preservation of life and property. Joking apart, however, matters are looking very ugly in this part of the world. That people should be destroyed like vermin has not surprised me; indeed, more than eighteen months ago I predicted to a friend that the natural consequence of all that was being said about the inherent rights of the Celtic race to the soil of Ireland would lead to the revival of agrarian outrages; and within a year three landlords have been murdered and two shot at.

"People may talk as they choose, but these crimes are but the simple translation into fact of the benevolent theories which have been so complacently propounded of late by our transcendental moralists and philosophers.

"I have seen the new dogma nowhere more explicitly stated than in the leading article of a paper inspired by our Catholic Bishop in Belfast. 'The History of Landlordism in Ireland may be truly said to be written in blood. In the South, where the *alien possessor* is brought face to face with *the men who ought to be the owners* of the soil, etc.'

"Here you have the whole theory. A man may come of a stock rooted for six hundred years in the soil of Ireland: unless he be a Catholic and his name begin with an O', he is to be denounced as an alien, declared incapable of holding landed property, his title, as derived by purchase in the Encumbered Estates Court, to be considered as an usurpation; and the fee simple of the soil is to be adjudged to a set of thriftless squatters who intruded themselves, as in most instances has been the case, upon the land within the last fifty years, in the teeth of

covenants in the lease against subdivision and subletting.

"The policy of the popular leaders is now apparent. All the Southern papers have been given the 'mot d'ordre' to ridicule the notion of a compensation bill, land improvement bill, or similar puerile expedients. Fixity of tenure—in other words, the conversion of the tenant into the proprietor, and of the landlord into an unsecured mortgagee—is to be the order of the day, and the process is to be introduced under the euphonious guise of a proposal to deprive landlords of their right of capricious eviction.

"This is a pleasant prospect for those who have spent their lives and their fortunes in improving their estates, and converting the struggling peasants of thirty years ago into a body of prosperous and well-to-do yeomen. And the worst of it is, that many of those who are advocates of the extremest measures, are so simple-minded and ignorant of rural affairs, that they cannot be made to understand that there is any difference between a terminable lease of twenty-one years and a perpetuity, or that the settlement of the rent of land by a government clerk is an arrangement that landed proprietors need have any misgivings in accepting.

"But I have already written you too long a letter."

January 14, 1869.—"My letter to you about the Irish agrarian outrages was written very hurriedly, and intended for your private delectation and instruction.

"I am afraid Mr. Gladstone will have thought it rather flippant. You must explain this to him.

"If they would trust me to make it I know the kind of speech that would do good at the present moment, and coming from me, out of the Cabinet, and professing to speak on my own hook, it would not commit any of you. It should be quite Liberal enough about the land to please our most fervent friends, such of

them at least as still remain in their senses on the subject.

"I have just concluded a settlement on my own estate which has entirely satisfied my tenants. I am beginning to think that another Devon Commission would be useful. A new world has come into being since 1846, and it would serve many purposes to note the change. There should be a special instruction to examine and report on the 'Customs of the country.' The Commission itself should contain a radical and a legal element in addition to the representatives of landed interests, but I am going to write to Fortescue at length upon the point."

January 21, 1869.—"I have not heard of the evictions to which you allude, but I should not be surprised if they took place. Many a man's whole future will depend on his retaining possession of his property. If he sees a tendency on the part of our public men to tamper with his rights, he will naturally do what he can for himself, and I dare say that some few, a little more timid, and consequently more inconsiderate than the rest, may have resorted to such an extreme precaution. I know in my own case I have done something of the kind. Three farms, of about twenty-five acres each, adjoining my park, fell vacant a short time ago, one tenant having died without leaving a representative, another being hopelessly in arrear; and the third a poor old fellow, past his work, to whom I have given a pension. These three holdings I then proceeded to knock into one, to drain, etc., with the intention of building a good farm steading, and letting it on a twenty-one years' lease. When, however, this agitation commenced, as the land lay close into my park, I stopped all my improvements, left off building the house, and let the fields to graziers, who pay me in the mean time as high a rent as any agricultural tenant would do. I hesitated to enter into a contract until I could see

whether Parliament showed any inclination to interfere with contracts.

"Of course the peculiar situation of this particular farm made it an exceptional case, but you can well understand that a person with a small estate—occupied we will say in some profession—but who hopes after he has made a little money, to retire to his property and cultivate it himself—will be apt to be equally cautious, if he thinks there is any chance that the man to whom he has let it in the meanwhile, should be enabled by Parliament to hold adverse possession of it in perpetuity against himself; more especially if his own interest in it is to be reduced to the proportion of a quit rent determined by some clerks from the Board of Works.

"You will say that such anticipations are absurd. So I consider them, but I have been quite startled by the sudden unanimity of opinion with which these extreme opinions are being broached by every person belonging to the Liberal party in Ireland who is not himself connected with landed property; and the practical effects of the insecurity thus engendered are beginning to be very disastrous. A relative of my own has just sold one of the nicest estates in the north of Ireland in the Landed Estates Court. Hitherto land in Ulster has generally fetched from twenty-five to twenty-seven years' purchase at the least. This property, which is low let, went for twenty-one years' purchase,—that is to say, for £15,000 less than another friend of mine offered the owner of it three years ago. Such is the depreciation going on,—even in Ulster. In Tipperary an estate was put up and no bidder at all came forward, which does not surprise me. I see, by the way, that they have shot another man in Cork since I last wrote to you—this time a farmer who was a competitor for a vacant holding. This very evening I have received a letter from my solicitor advising me not to sell a townland I was anxious to get rid of, 'as people's confidence

is so much shaken; unless you think legislation is likely to make the owner's position worse off than it is at present.'

"What are you people saying to all this? Have you any notion of the tendency of the local sentiment which is being developed, and with which it will be very difficult to deal, when once it has acquired certain proportions? Remember the holders of property in Ireland are a small minority, and that the only real protection to property in these days, when wealth unfortunately is so unequally distributed, is a sense of moral obligation in the minds and conscience of the people. Above all things do not imagine that I am exaggerating the present aspect of the situation. It is to these ends that the opinions of some of our cleverest members of Parliament are shaping themselves unless checked by some superior authority. Only the other day perhaps the ablest of them, a lawyer, said to a friend of mine, 'One would not like to say so in the House of Commons, but we must have a *revolutionary* land bill.'"

In March 1870 Lord Dufferin, who was now Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in Mr. Gladstone's ministry, moved in the House of Lords the second reading of the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill. He did so, as he said, with feelings of repugnance, mortification, and disappointment, but with the firm conviction that the state of Ireland rendered coercive measures inevitable; and he produced evidence showing the prevalence in the country of a "semi-organized system of assassination and a widespread network of intimidation," kindled and inflamed by secret agencies and by the press in Ireland and in America. Mr. Gladstone had just passed through the Commons his Bill to confer upon Irish tenants a legal claim to compensation for

agricultural improvements and for disturbance, and to make void any contract (in the case of small tenants) adverse to such claim. Two months later, when the Bill came before the Upper House, Lord Dufferin rose to support it.

"Your Lordships will remember" (he said) "that it is not merely a government official who is addressing you, but a large Irish proprietor, who is nothing else than an Irish proprietor, who does not own an acre of land elsewhere, the whole of whose material interests, as well as those of his children, depend upon a proper solution of this question, and who falls behind no one in this House in his zealous appreciation of the rights of property and in his determination to maintain them. With these considerations and predilections . . . I entreat your Lordships, in the most earnest and anxious language I can command, not only to give a second reading to this Bill, but to pass it without material alteration."

In regard to the clauses giving compensation for improvements, he reminded the House that—

"Seventeen years ago, when such views were not so fashionable as they are now, I laid upon the table of this House a Bill by which the Irish tenant would have been invested with a retrospective right to his improvements under conditions and within limits almost identical with those adopted in this Bill."

And on the point of compensation for disturbance, he quoted from his pamphlet of 1866 a passage where he had advocated, in the very words adopted in the Bill under discussion, the equitable claim of a tenant to be compensated, in the case of a sudden eviction, for the loss that he would thereby suffer from the interruption of his enterprise, and for his disappointment in the expectation of profit. He went on to say—

"What is the spectacle presented to us by Ireland? It is that of millions of persons, whose only dependence and whose chief occupation is agriculture, for the most part cultivating their lands—that is sinking their past, their present, and their future—upon yearly tenancies! But what is a yearly tenancy? Why, it is an impossible tenure—a tenure which, if its terms were to be literally interpreted, no Christian man would offer, and none but a madman would accept. In fact, my Lords, it is not a tenure which practically can be said to exist. No human being, whether landlord or tenant, on entering into such a bargain in respect of an agricultural holding—I except of course special and specific cases—ever dreams that the term of occupation is to terminate within the year specified. In the apprehension of both parties a reasonable period is intended. . . . Many years ago I argued in your Lordships' House that the Irish tenant, being in too dependent a position to make a bargain for himself, was entitled to have his concerns regulated by the interposition of Parliament. To that opinion I still adhere. . . . And I would ask your Lordships to remember that although this Bill, by a remarkable ingenuity of conception, does do the most ample and consummate justice to the tenant, it avoids every one of those abuses and violent restrictions upon the freedom of the landlord which have characterized almost every other proposal of the same sort. . . . It leaves him in complete possession of his property."

Lord Dufferin's speech was received, as he noted afterwards, "with a considerable amount of cheering by the Opposition," and in dead silence by his own side. He had laid stress on the many mischiefs and abuses that had arisen from the extravagant development of tenant-right; but he had nevertheless advocated its legal recognition "for the same reason that I would sentence the murderer of an illegitimate infant

to be hanged. I do not approve of adultery, but the creature being there has a right to the protection of the law." Ministerial silence indicated disapproval of these sentiments; so Lord Dufferin explained his position in the following letter to Lord Granville :—

June 15, 1870.—"Although such was very far from my desire or intention, I am afraid that my speech last night may not have been considered as thoroughly in support of the Bill as it ought to have been, but to tell you the truth I had never understood that approval of Tenant Right as an abstract principle was a part of the programme of the government. Certainly Mr. Gladstone expressly stated that the only grounds on which we founded our proposal to recognize it, was its existence without reference to its merits, and I therefore concluded that if I adopted the same argument I was at liberty to deal with its abstract qualities according to my own convictions and previously expressed opinions.

"Unfortunately, moreover, finding the House so excessively bored with the historical retrospect into which I so imprudently plunged, I tried to hasten what I had left to say to a conclusion, and getting nervous and confused, became less hearty in my vindication of the clauses than I had intended. But I am sure you will believe me when I say that I desire to act in the most perfect good faith, and I am quite ready, if what I have said is thought at all embarrassing to the government, to take up a place behind them on the back benches."

Lord Granville replied—

"If you deserve punishment, it has been given by the cheers of the Opposition. Your position was difficult, and I well know the difficulty of re-forming one's line in front of the enemy."

And again, later on the same day—

"The fact was that I thought it possible, although most improbable, that Gladstone might be a little annoyed. I have seen him this evening, and find that there is in his opinion not the slightest necessity for any explanation on the subject of your speech; but he appreciates the feeling of delicacy which induced you to make an unacceptable suggestion."

The support given by Lord Dufferin to Mr. Gladstone's Bill was quite consistent with the line of policy and action that he had previously advocated. He had always held the tenant entitled to compensation for disturbance, and, in all cases where the lease was for less than thirty-one years, this was awarded by the Bill. But it did not infringe the landlord's essential right of property; it left him free to make his terms with the tenant; he could raise the rent, he could still eject a tenant under the terms of his lease, though eviction was made difficult and expensive. The Act, therefore, only slightly touched upon the true underlying issues between the two parties in Ireland—whether the full ownership of land should remain with the landlord, or whether it should be divided upon some system of co-proprietorship, or whether it should be altogether transferred to the occupying tenants. The least that the tenant party demanded was fixity of rent. Nor is it probable that a statesman of Lord Dufferin's long experience and perspicacity could have looked upon the Act of 1870 as representing more than a provisional adjustment of the question, an instalment given to stave off larger and more importunate demands. As has been seen from his answer to Mr. Mill, he opposed the destruction of landlords' property rights, on the ground that such a measure would be not remedial but ruinous to agriculture; yet in the speech on the

Bill of 1870 he referred to his pamphlet of 1867, where he said, in alluding to Mr. Bright's proposals, that he heartily sympathized with Mr. Bright in his desire to see a yeoman class established in Ireland, and that though he had misgivings as to the result of the experiment on so large a scale, nevertheless, if Mr. Bright could persuade the British taxpayer to agree, he for one would offer no objections.

Among Lord Dufferin's papers is a long confidential memorandum, evidently prepared for the Cabinet, upon which the leading provisions of the Act of 1870 in regard to compensation appear to have been settled, though some reservations that he desired to make in the landlords' favour seem to have been overruled. Some correspondence relating to this memorandum is here inserted.

(To Mr. Gladstone.) *October* 29, 1869.—"I now forward to you the memorandum you gave me permission to draw up. I only wish I could have made it shorter, but in so complicated a subject it is difficult to be both concise and perspicuous.

"I am sure you will see by what I have written that my only thought has been to assist you to the utmost of my ability in the settlement of this question. Even though the Bill should eventually assume a shape of which I could not altogether approve, I am so convinced of the danger of delay, or of any other set of men than the members of the present government having an opportunity of meddling with it, that I should still support it, though perhaps not as your Chancellor of the Duchy.

"As you will see, the one principle which I deprecate is the measurement of the tenants' interest by competition, and the fixing of rent by a government valuator. Against a settlement on this basis I have always protested, both publicly and in private, and I could not with honour agree to it.

"I see that my name has been sometimes quoted in the newspapers, and in reference to this point there is one thing more I have to say. I have felt it my duty from time to time to try and stem the tide of adverse feeling which has lately set in against the Irish landlords. In doing so I have endeavoured to draw a correct picture of their situation, and, considering the different points of view from which the subject is regarded, the statements I have made have fairly stood the test of investigation.

"At the same time, although I have never uttered a sentence at all inconsistent with the scheme suggested in the accompanying memorandum, the tendency of whatever pamphlets I have published has undoubtedly been apologetic. Their tone consequently may cause you embarrassment as proceeding from a member of your government, especially when isolated passages are quoted, as possibly may be the case. I can only say, should this happen, I should infinitely prefer supporting you from a back bench as an independent member than in my present situation, and I can assure you that my support will not be a whit less earnest and loyal on that account. On the other hand, I feel that in the interests of the country and almost as a matter of justice, some one intimately connected with the agricultural interests of Ireland should be permitted to watch the elaboration of this important measure. It is only in the strength of this conviction that I have presumed to intrude upon you with the enclosed."

(From Mr. Gladstone.) *November* 3, 1869.—"I have read your papers on Irish Land tenures, and I am very glad to find a great community of view between you and most of those with whom I have exchanged ideas on that most difficult subject; though the apparent differences, and the real differences of form, may be considerable.

"You have not quite drawn your plan in such a

finds himself in the same position as if he had bought the land from a stranger—that is to say, destitute of capital and probably in debt. . . .

"The rents of Ireland are comparatively low: to transfer, therefore, the power of exaction created by competition from the landlord, against whose interest it is to enforce it, and to hand it over to the tenant, who will never fail to do so, would hardly be a change for the better. Yet you will hear the same person who would vehemently denounce a landlord for insisting on a rack rent, detail with complacency the enormous sums of money which some one has obtained for his tenant right from a successor to his farm, whom he has skinned by the process and left stranded for life on the barren acres. From the foregoing considerations it is apparent that competition is an irrepressible force; if stifled in one direction it will burst out in another. . . . After all the proposed remedies shall have been applied, the economic conditions of many parts of Ireland will be as hopeless as at present. It is impossible that agriculture can thrive, no matter what is done for the tenant, in those districts where the land is so miserably subdivided, as it is in Munster and Connaught."

Towards the end of his memorandum he writes—

"If it were not thought presumptuous, I would wish to conclude this hasty expression of opinion with an earnest entreaty to those who will read it to remember how great is the responsibility of the task in which they are engaged. On their present decisions may depend, not only the material happiness of a nation, but the permanence, on an unshaken basis, of our whole social system. The landlords of Ireland are few in number; they are naturally both feared and hated by the priest, whose influence, in their several neighbourhoods, they rival or diminish. They are universally unpopular in the towns, with whose inhabitants they are not united by the connecting

link of a wealthy middle class. They are severed from the labouring population by differences of race and religion. It is with their tenants alone that they have much opportunity of cultivating kindly relations. Yet for twenty years they have been held up to execration by almost every journal in Ireland, and by many of the Roman Catholic Clergy. Every kind of falsehood has been industriously propagated concerning them, all the more fatal to their reputation, because occasionally, certain of their class have been convicted of those crimes in which it is alleged they all habitually indulge. What body of men, subject to such attacks, from such an organization, would fail to become in the end 'Anathema'? If that is not yet their fate, the fact is more to their credit than if, under other circumstances, their praises were in all men's mouths. Yet probably nowhere has so much been done, or are such exertions being made for the improvement of their country, as by a large number of the Irish landlords. . . . Yet it is probable that the great mass of the English people would sacrifice the Irish landlords to-morrow, if they thought that by so doing they could tempt the Irish populace into acquiescence in their rule."

And he ends with the following reference to his own position as a landlord:—

"Finally, the writer of this memorandum wishes to observe that, individually, his personal interests are not engaged in the present controversy. Leases have been the ancient rule on his property, and at this moment there is not a tenant-at-will upon his estate. From an analysis of expenditure furnished him by a professional accountant, it appears that, during the last eighteen years he has expended £78,000 for the sole benefit of his tenantry, without adding one sixpence to his rental, or having the prospect of doing so during his own lifetime. To those in his position (and it is a mistake to suppose that there are

not many such), the idea must frequently occur of disembarrassing themselves of the ungrateful responsibilities connected with the management of an Irish estate, unless both life and property are rendered inviolate in that country. Such a step, even in the present depreciated state of the market, would probably be an economical proceeding, and in the future interest of others it might even become a duty."

These concluding sentences foreshadow apprehensions, already growing in Lord Dufferin's mind, that although the Act of 1870 preserved the landlord's proprietary rights, the unceasing attacks upon his position would render it before long untenable, or not worth defending.

What he apprehended, moreover, may be inferred from what he actually did; for within the next five years he sold two-thirds of his Irish estate, reserving land valued rateably at £8000 annually, in a ring fence principally round Clandeboye. He had virtually concluded the sale of two more farms, when in 1880 the purchasers, anticipating further changes in the land laws, asked to be released from their agreements; and Lord Dufferin immediately cancelled them.

On May 7 1874 he wrote to the Duke of Argyll—

"As for myself, I have pretty nearly made up my mind to sell my Irish property. The sense of bitter injustice involved in these transactions is so painful as to render one's position intolerable, nor am I required by any conceivable call of duty to undergo this species of annoyance. God knows I have done my duty by my tenantry only too liberally for my own advantage, and now that they are well protected against any possible exaction at the hands of strangers, I shall make my escape. I shall have to leave something like £150,000* behind me in the shape of improvements,

* This amount included a large outlay on the demesne and the mansion.

from which I have had time to reap no other advantage than the ameliorated condition of the farmers themselves; but an Irish estate is like a sponge, and an Irish landlord is never so sick as when he is sick of his property. Clandeboye itself and 5000 or 6000 adjoining acres I shall keep for the present, probably until my term of office over here is concluded, but in the end I dare say it will go too. If I got any advantageous offer in the mean time I might be tempted to sell at once.

"In many ways it will be a great pain to part with a possession that has been for nearly three hundred years in my family, and which I have done so much to embellish, but there are many countervailing considerations, and in the interest of those who come after me, I am inclined to think that Great Britain will afford a firmer foothold than poor dear old Ireland."

In the last sentences of this letter one may trace an allusion to family encumbrances, which necessarily added some weight on the side of his inclination to sell the property.

Fenianism, however, had failed; and Lord Dufferin, when in March 1871 he defended the orders of the government for the release of the Fenian prisoners, had declared that Ireland was in a condition of peace and political tranquillity from one end of the country to the other. He found it advisable, however, to explain that he drew a distinction between political and administrative questions; nor did he deny that the latter class still required serious attention. He had been closely observing, in fact, the working in Ulster of the Act of 1870; and the result was not reassuring. The indefinite elastic custom of Ulster tenancy had been hardened by the law into a legal right of compensation, to be appraised

upon each change of occupancy by the local courts. Lord Dufferin had been one of many landlords who endeavoured to free their land from the incidence of this custom by paying to the outgoing tenant the sum that he was entitled to demand from the incomer, and by introducing the new tenant upon a long lease at a low rent, with nothing charged on account of tenant-right. He supposed that by these means it would be finally extinguished. But as on these terms the holding became much more valuable, and since the local courts in their rulings leant heavily in favour of tenant-right, the practical consequence was that the right was not extirpated. On the contrary, it continued to grow, and on any termination of the holding its occupier or his heir often claimed and recovered from the landlord a much larger compensation for this right, the amount being determined by the price obtainable from the highest bidder in the open market. Until he had paid this sum the landlord could not recover his farm.

The movement toward conversion of tenant-right into co-proprietorship was not arrested, therefore, by the Act of 1870; it continued to increase, and it derived encouragement from high quarters. In November 1877 Mr. Gladstone visited Dublin, where he made a great speech on the presentation to him of the freedom of the city, and received an address from the farmers of County Down. In the course of his speech he said, with reference to the operation in Ulster of the Act of 1870—

"If there is any part of the country in which an apparent soreness (among the landlords) prevails, it is Ulster. There the tenant had before the Land Act a very considerable protection in the shape of the Ulster tenant right, a tenant right which, I must

say, I do not believe to have grown out of the simple indulgence of the owners of the land, but which I do believe to have been founded on the original grants to the settlers in the seventeenth century. Therefore I shall concede that it represents rights which are in the nature of proprietary rights, as much and as truly, though in a different shape, as the title-deeds of the landlord."

When Lord Dufferin, who was at that time in Canada, read this speech, he immediately wrote (but did not eventually send) to Mr. Gladstone a letter, in which he proved that, so far as County Down was concerned, there was no foundation for the belief that the tenant-right has any kind of original connection with the grants of land made in the seventeenth century.

"These grants" (he said) "are still in existence, having been executed in 1605 and in 1630, and from one end to the other of them there is not a single sentence which either directly or by implication imposes upon the grantee any conditions or stipulations whatever in respect either of the actual or future tenants or occupiers of the soil."

He supported this statement by historical facts, which need not be given here; and he protested against the encouragement given by Mr. Gladstone's speech to fictitious claims. On reflection he preferred the course of addressing the Duke of Argyll instead of Mr. Gladstone on the subject; and the incident is now only worth mention in illustration of the growing pressure of demands against which Lord Dufferin was making a prolonged but hopeless resistance. For by this time it was clear that the Act of 1870 would not serve the landlords as a barrier.

Mr. Disraeli had pointed out, when the Act was

under debate, that under the name of compensation a proprietary interest would be vested in the tenant, and that since he was still liable to forfeit that interest by non-payment of rent, he would not long submit to the raising of his rent at the landlord's pleasure. Within ten years from that time a recurrence of agrarian agitation, stimulated by the bad harvest of 1878-79, produced the Land League and the demand for the "Three F's;" and Lord Dufferin foresaw that the landlords must go down under the storm. From St. Petersburg he wrote to a friend in regard to the terms which he had been endeavouring to make for their expropriation—

"Of course your criticisms on the plans I have sketched for buying out the landlords are full of force, and your predictions would most probably come true; but we are between the devil and the deep sea. It is quite evident that no government—I don't care whether Conservative or Liberal—will risk losing the entire Irish vote, and making enemies of the whole Irish nation, merely for the purpose of saving the property of the Irish landlords. In our present position, or in the attenuated form of rent charges, our doom is sealed. Look at the way in which the Conservative members of the north are throwing up the sponge, sacrificing the property of the country merely to save their seats. Any so-called safeguards or qualification by which the application of the infamous 'Three F's' may be limited, would of course be swept away during the course of ten years. Every candidate for Parliament would pledge himself up to the eyes to do away with them; but if the English tax-payers' pockets were to be affected by the revolt of the Irish against rent, the British government would be a little firmer in the vindication of order and the rights of property."

He came home on leave from his embassy at St.

Petersburg, probably in order to participate in discussions and consultations that so nearly concerned him. He prepared and submitted to the Cabinet a "Confidential Memorandum on the present aspects of the Irish Land Question," which he sent to Mr. Gladstone, who acknowledged it in the letter subjoined—

December 12, 1880.—"I thank you for your paper, which, in a large degree, commands my sympathies. That is to say, I am averse to either covert or open expropriation of the class of landlords, and I have not yet seen in what sense a man is a proprietor who does not ultimately determine, under whatever checks, who shall be the occupier of the land.

"On the other hand, I do not understand by free sale a sale without any limitations, or a partnership in the land; but only a right, not subject to absolute unconditional veto, of transferring by assignment two things, viz. the tenant's improvements and his interest in his occupation as his means of livelihood. Such a right I rather think was recognized in our Land Bill of '70, though not in the Act. It may want limitation and restraint, but I cannot see that the principle is in its essence bad. I do not now touch cases where it has been bought out."

By this time the agitation in Ireland over the demands of the tenantry was again boiling up. Agrarian outrages were rife; Mr. Parnell and others had been prosecuted for conspiracy; a stringent Act for protection of life and property had been passed, and Mr. Gladstone was preparing the Irish Land Act of 1881. A memorial, signed by some of Lord Dufferin's late tenants, had been submitted to Mr. Gladstone, in which he was accused of unjust and illiberal dealings with the tenants on his estate. Mr. Gladstone transmitted it to Lord Dufferin, who replied from St. Petersburg in a long letter, expressing his pain and

vexation at receiving a document of this kind through the Prime Minister, and refuting in detail the charges made against him. Among the facts that he produced in answer to the allegations that he had confiscated the tenants' improvements by rack-renting, is a statement in detail proving that during the past thirty years he had spent £102,000* on his own property, by abatements of rent, by compensating tenants for their improvements and making them at his own cost, and by compensation paid for tenant-rights. In conclusion he wrote—

"I may fairly say that I have endeavoured to do my duty faithfully and honestly in the difficult station in which I have been placed. Up till now I have certainly succeeded in retaining the affectionate regard of my tenantry, for there has been no critical incident in my life where they have not voluntarily come forward to testify in the most genuine manner the sympathy and interest they felt in my welfare, the last and not the least affectionate of these demonstrations being on my return from Canada."

To a friend he wrote at the same time—

"I have been rather annoyed lately by the publication in the *Pall Mall* of extracts from a memorial addressed to Gladstone by 'the tenantry of eight townlands,' as they style themselves, 'on what was once the Dufferin Estate,' the truth being that the memorial has been signed by seventy-two persons out of several hundreds. . . . They said that I had been in intimate communication with Mr. Gladstone before his accession to office, had learned the terms of his Land Act of 1870, and had drawn my leases with a view to counteract the Premier's beneficent

* On coming of age Lord Dufferin had rather imprudently granted his tenants an abatement of £2000 a year of his rental for twenty-one years.

legislation. Upon this the whole of my Clandeboye tenantry sent me in an address, repudiating the assertion that I had in any way forced the leases upon them, and declaring their entire satisfaction with them."

Mr. Gladstone answered—

March 18, 1881.—"I cannot but write another line to say how sorry I am that you should have been assailed by acrimony and untruth after all you have done and striven to do in Ireland: and that I should have been in any way the channel, through which it had to be transmitted. I thought it, however, impossible to proceed upon the paper without making an intimation to you."

From a subsequent letter of Lord Dufferin it appears that Mr. Gladstone had promised to defend him if he were seriously attacked.

Some correspondence with the Duke of Argyll in reference to the same subject here follows:—

February 18, 1881.—"All my leases, not only those which I have issued myself, but those which have been granted by my predecessors, since the latter quarter of the last century, have contained a clause precluding the tenant from assigning his lease without the consent of his landlord. As a matter of fact, we have always allowed the tenant to sell under satisfactory conditions, but since I entered upon the management of the estate, I have required the incoming tenant to sign a memorandum on the back of the lease, stating that he had not given more than so much for the interest of the lease in question (in order to prevent absurd prices being paid); and further, that what he bought was the current term of the lease, and no interest outside it or beyond it. The lease itself secures to the tenant compensation for all his improvements, etc., when it lapses; and to each lease there is attached a debtor and creditor account, in which are entered from time to time the respective

sums expended on improvements whether by landlord or by tenant.

"As I have stated in my paper, the appointment of a Court with a large equitable jurisdiction to adjudicate on each individual case according to its merits ought to work well, and would be the best instrument for preventing injustice and securing general content. The danger is lest this court should prove untrustworthy. . . . Any institution composed of Irishmen is sure to be impressionable. . . . There is something almost comical in the enormous pains which the Landed Estates court takes when superintending a transfer, to record the minutest claim attached to the property that is adverse to the interests of the purchaser, in order to safeguard him from paying money for anything less than what the owner professes to sell. Thus every right of way across a field or through a gate, every right of water, every charge of every sort and description, is minutely detailed in writing, and marked upon the maps; and now there will come an Act of Parliament completely transfiguring both the character and the value of the property thus laboriously conveyed."

March 4, 1881.—"I will now give you an instance of the degree to which the moral sense of the people has been overcome by the prospect which has been held out to them of getting their landlord's property. Before I left for Canada, I let a part of my demesne to a tenant who was cultivating a farm on an estate which marched with mine. He was a prosperous and well-to-do man, and was therefore in no sense driven by any necessity to take the land. He did so simply with a view to agricultural profit. An agreement was drawn up under which he was to cultivate the land for five years as a letting of demesne land in the manner provided by the Act of 1870, with a provision that any claim against me for manures, seeds, etc., should be settled by arbitration when the

farm was surrendered. The five years agreed upon lapsed last November; the tenant gave up possession; arbitrators were appointed, all belonging unfortunately to the tenant class; and I have had to pay £200 compensation, which my agent tells me is a horrid robbery. But let that pass. My ploughman went upon the land to plough it up, upon which the ex-tenant serves me with a legal notice to the effect that the ploughman is the intruder, and that he intends to drive him off the land, his calculation being that if only he can contrive to hold on to the farm in any shape or form until the new Land Act passes, he will be gratified with a perpetual right of occupying seventy acres of the best part of my park."

August 6, 1881.—"The most important points are that land which has been let under special circumstances for a limited period should not be taken away from the proprietors, and that farms upon which the tenant-right has been bought up, should remain free from that incubus, as guaranteed by the Act of 1870. It would be really too monstrous if the same men who told us ten years ago that our land might be emancipated by a certain payment, should give back to the tenant the very thing he had sold, and whose price is still warm in his pocket.

"Again, I have two or three large home farms attached to different residences, which were all on my own hands when I went to Canada; but which I have since let out for five years to substantial farmers who have holdings on other parts of the estate, and to whom it was convenient to take this additional land. It was expressly stipulated between us in writing that the land was taken for five years, and that at the expiration of that term all claims for manures, etc., should be settled by arbitration. One is a farm which was farmed by my brother-in-law, who gave it up, and is attached to the Castle of Killyleagh, another is inside my park, and the third is just outside the walls

but was attached to an agent's house, and was farmed by him; yet I fear as the Bill stands every one of these farms would remain for ever in the possession of the present casual tenant."

Lord Dufferin had been examined before the Bessborough Commission of Inquiry into the state of the Irish Land Laws, and he collected the substance of his memorandum, and of his evidence before the Commission into a pamphlet ("The Three F's"), which he revised and published in 1881. In this he made his last stand for the landlords, and protested, in vain, against the application of Free Sale, Fair Rent, and Fixity of Tenure to the holdings throughout Ireland. He contended against it, not only as an unjust and partial confiscation of proprietary rights, but also as in any case a half measure, that would sharpen without satisfying the appetite of the tenants for ownership.

"I have lately disposed of £370,000 worth of property, two-thirds of which averaged over twenty-seven years' purchase, principally to Belfast merchants. This £370,000 represents the accumulated thrift and industry of two or three generations of men whose industry has created the prosperity of the North. . . .

"But if the 'Three F's' are applied to the property, what will be their position and that of thousands of others similarly situated? By putting their money into the Funds, they would have secured a larger as well as an absolutely secure and certain income. As it is, the indefeasible title to the fee-simple of the lands, issued to them by the Landed Estates Court, will have been converted into a mere claim to a precarious rent charge. Who can maintain in the face of the foregoing illustration, that an estate and its rental are convertible terms? Is it not plain that, if the 'Three F's' were to become law, those who have bought land in Ireland would be like beasts caught in a trap—a

trap originally baited by no less a person than Sir Robert Peel when Prime Minister, and into which they have been invited to enter by successive Acts of Parliament, by the highest courts of judicature, and by those eminent statesmen who, in passing the Land Act of 1870, induced them to agree to it on the plea that, if it curtailed some of the privileges of property, it gave an impregnable stability to those which were left?"

Yet Lord Dufferin, though he fought hard for his land, had by this time discerned that the cause of the landlords was lost, and that by each successive law the tenants were gaining ground for renewed attack upon the central position.

"In the estimation of the tenant Mr. Gladstone's Act put him into the same bed with his landlord. His immediate impulse has been to kick his landlord out of bed. The temptation of the government will be to quiet the disturbance by giving the tenant a little more of the bed. This will prove a vain expedient. The tenant will only say to himself, 'One kick more, and the villain is on the floor.' If, however, instead of giving the tenant more of the bed, we cut the bed in two, he will then roll himself up in his blanket, and be all in favour of every man having his own bed to himself. In other words, the problem is to render Ireland conservative, to make it the interest of the peasantry to support law and order, to recognize the sanctity of property, and the reasonableness and necessity of rent. This can only be done by making him an owner, and an owner upon a very extensive scale—upon such a scale as to render it the interest of the greater part of the population to insist upon the remainder fulfilling their legal obligations.

"How is this to be done? Let a necessary sum, raised on public securities, be devoted to the purchase, upon fair and proper terms to be regulated by a trustworthy Commission, of a considerable proportion of the lands of Ireland."

He proposes, in short, the final expedient of State purchase to which the Legislature resorted twenty-two years afterwards. But he believed that in the west of Ireland, with its cottier tenements, its poverty, and its potato cultivation, even this drastic remedy of establishing a peasant propriety would be impracticable. For this poor folk there could be no help, he thought, except in emigration; and his recent residence in Canada suggested to him a picture of what might be gained by quitting a small island with a swarming population for the vast unpeopled plains of a great continent.

"Within the compass of little more than a week, after a pleasant voyage, a proportion of these unhappy multitudes might be landed on the quays of Quebec, the women healthier, the children rosier, and the men in better heart and spirits than ever they have been since the day they were born. Four or five days more would plant them without fatigue or inconvenience on a soil so rich, that it has only to be scratched to grow the best wheat and barley that can be raised on the continent of America. I myself have seen an immeasurable sea of corn clothing with its golden expanse what two years before had been a desolate prairie, the home of the lynx and the jackal, simply through the exertions of a small Russian colony that had run up their shanties in that favoured land. In the neighbourhood was an Irish settlement containing many descendants of the cottier peasantry who had fled from the famine of 1846, now converted into happy, loyal, and contented yeomen. Instinctively my mind reverted to the sights I had seen in Mayo, Connemara, and Galway in 1848. Strange to say, the appearance of the horizon in each case was identical. Its verge stood out against the setting sun like the teeth of a saw; but in Ireland this impression was produced by the gable ends of deserted cottages:

in Manitoba by the long line of corn-stacks which sheltered every homestead."

But pictures of prosperity beyond sea were not likely to divert from their purpose the chiefs of the Land League, who were using agricultural claims as leverage for clearing the road toward Home Rule. Mr. Parnell was now raising Ireland against the ministry, and the Land Act of 1881 was passed under stress of violent agitation.

"The 'Three F's' were now wrenched from the Government by one of the most lawless movements which had ever convulsed any country. . . . 'I must make one admission,' said Mr. Gladstone in 1893, 'and that is that without the Land League the Act of 1881 would not now be on the Statute-book.'" *

It may be observed, in conclusion, that Lord Dufferin came into possession of his estates at the beginning of what may be termed the revolutionary period in the history of Irish land tenure, and that he lived very nearly to the end of it. When he succeeded to his inheritance, the landlord's rights were legally intact. But the Devon Commission had just then (1845) submitted to Parliament their Report, in which the growth and operation of the custom of tenant-right was thus described.

"It is difficult" (they said) "to deny that the effect of this system is a practical assumption by the tenant of a joint proprietorship in the land: and that the tendency is gradually to convert the proprietor into a mere rent charger, having an indefinite and declining annuity, or the lord of a copyhold. Landlords do not perceive that the present tenant-right of Ulster is an embryo copyhold, which must decline in value to the

* Barry O'Brien, "The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell," vol. ii. p. 293.

proprietor in proportion as the practice of tenant-right becomes confirmed, because the sum required by the outgoing tenant must regulate ultimately the balance of gross produce which will be left to meet the payment of rent. They do not see that the agrarian combination throughout Ireland is but a methodized war to obtain the Ulster tenant right, or that an established purchase not only may but must erect itself finally into law; unless the practice itself is superseded by putting the whole question on a sound and equitable basis."

For the next thirty-five years the process described in the foregoing extract went on with increasing pressure and agitation, with many vicissitudes of attack and defence in the contest for proprietary right, as the tenants won point after point against the landlords: until, after 1881, the relative positions of the two parties became nearly inverted. For by that time possession of the land, and the power to dispose of it, had virtually passed over to the tenant in occupation, and it was the landlord who found himself with a precarious holding, imminently liable to eviction.

Whatever may be the different views held regarding the policy that prevailed in the long struggle between landlords and tenants, and between political parties, in Ireland, over the problem involved in the settlement of property in land, it must be admitted that Lord Dufferin's championship of his class, during so many years, was conducted with intelligence, foresight, and generosity. He had been a liberal and painstaking landlord, whose sympathy with the needs and grievances of the tenantry was incontestable, and who acted upon a genuine belief that the ultimate interests of the two classes were identical, and might be reconciled. From the day when he started from Oxford to do his best toward relieving the miseries

of the famine, down to the end of his life, his warm interest in the welfare of Ireland never failed. He had found himself, on coming of age, in the possession of an ample income from an estate that was supposed to be secure; and in the improvement of this property he had invested large sums. But the encumbrances, most of which he had inherited with the estate, pressed heavily on a falling rent roll; the trend of legislation was adverse to landlords; so that prudence dictated to him the sale of the greater part of his land, and this change in his position and prospects must have inevitably affected his subsequent career. So far as it turned him toward foreign service, this may be reckoned to his advantage, for he rose to eminence and distinction. Yet for a man with his tastes and habits, among which must be included an hereditary propensity to profuse generosity—to large and liberal expenditure in high places—this separation from the land was probably detrimental, because the preservation of his ancestral estate would always have been his first concern, would have acted as a check upon incautious magnificence, and might have saved him, it is likely, from being left, after a series of great and for the most part costly appointments, with a small property and a straitened income. After 1872, when Lord Dufferin accepted the Canadian Governor Generalship, his close attention to Irish affairs was necessarily interrupted and relaxed. And we may take the same date as marking his withdrawal from active participation in the internal politics of the United Kingdom, since thenceforward he remained abroad, with intervals of residence at home on short holidays, till 1896.

CHAPTER VII.

SECTION I.

THE CANADIAN VICEROYALTY.

THE interest and unanimous approbation with which the announcement of Lord Dufferin's appointment to Canada was received, both in the United Kingdom and in Canada, may be taken as good evidence that it was a right and well-timed stroke of policy. The English press agreed in applauding the choice made by the Imperial government. The Canadian papers assured him of a welcome in the colony. In June 1872 the citizens of Belfast entertained Lord and Lady Dufferin, before their departure, at a banquet which brought together a large assemblage of Irishmen, who had put aside for the occasion their political and religious differences that they might unite in doing honour to a distinguished and popular fellow-countryman. No one was better qualified to appreciate the rarity of such a demonstration than Lord Dufferin; and few, if any, were so well fitted by congenial temperament, by sympathy with Irish feeling, or by power of exuberant and cordial speech, to acknowledge and respond to it. When he rose, at this banquet, to reply to the Mayor of Belfast, who had proposed his health, his gifts of picturesque oratory, of rising above conventional phrases and

expressing his emotion in words that carried the conviction of sincerity and generous sensibility, were precisely adapted to captivate such an audience. He touched lightly on the controversies that had placed him in opposition, upon Irish questions, to many in that assembly, assuring them that he had always respected their conscientious motives and their intellectual eminence. To those of his own party he spoke of his gratitude for their support and encouragement, and for "the genial and affectionate cordiality which has invested our political intercourse with the attributes of personal friendship." And his genius for striking the note of that patriotic attachment to a country and its familiar scenery which is nowhere stronger than in Ireland, was displayed in the imaginative anticipation of his own feelings at the moment when he should have taken his departure across the Atlantic.

"As the ship he sails in slowly moves away from the familiar shore, as the well-known features of the landscape, the bright villas, the pointed spires, the pleasant woods, the torrent beds that scar the mountain side, gradually melt down into a single tint, till only the broad outline of his native coast attracts his gaze, something of an analogous process operates within his mind; and, as he considers his mission and his destiny, the landmarks of home politics grow faint, the rugged controversies which divide opinion become indistinct, the antagonisms of party strife recede into the distance, while their place is occupied by the aspect of an united nation, which has confided its interests and its honour to his keeping, and by the image of the beloved Mistress he represents and serves."

From the country that he was leaving he passed, in his speech, to the country whither he was bound;

to dilate upon its energetic population and the splendid future secured to it by its as yet undeveloped wealth. It may be admitted that in his peroration he availed himself to the full of the poetical licence which on such occasions may be claimed by an enthusiastic orator. But in a deliberate intention to awaken among Canadians a national spirit, the sense of their country's resources and its potency of expansion, may be found the key-note of Lord Dufferin's colonial policy.

"It may be doubted whether the inhabitants of the Dominion are themselves as yet fully awake to the magnificent destiny in store for them." . . . "Like a virgin goddess in a primæval world, Canada still walks in unconscious beauty among her golden woods and by the margin of her trackless streams, catching but broken glances of her radiant majesty as mirrored on their surface; and scarcely recks as yet of the glories awaiting her in the Olympus of nations."

A few days later he took ship for Canada, and arrived at Quebec toward the end of June 1872.

On July 24, he wrote to Lady Dartrey—

"One's first view of a new continent is always an epoch in one's life. What struck me most were the primæval woods and forests which covered the hills at Gaspé, for miles and miles through the interior. One felt one saw what Adam and Eve first opened their eyes upon."

The history of Lord Dufferin's administration in Canada has been twice related at considerable length, and with ample details. The authors of both these histories—Mr. Leggo and Mr. Stewart—are Canadians, who wrote as contemporaries and eye-witnesses, familiar with all the affairs of their country, and with

the important questions that were debated and determined under Lord Dufferin's government. It must be admitted that exception was taken to their histories, when they first appeared, on the ground that they were written under a bias in favour of certain persons and policies; and that in matters upon which opinions differed, or where both sides ought to be heard, their impartiality was said to be disputable. Nevertheless in compiling this memoir it has been necessary to make large use of these works as connected narratives of the course of public events during Lord Dufferin's government in Canada; and full acknowledgment is due to the writers for the assistance, in this respect, that has been derived from them. The materials for this period of Lord Dufferin's official life are so ample as to be almost embarrassing. Yet among the great and manifold concerns of a widely diffused empire one brief episode in colonial politics, taken apart from its historical context, can hardly be expected to retain much more than local interest, or to be remembered generally. For this reason an attempt must be made to sketch concisely the situation that Lord Dufferin found in Canada on his assumption of the Governor Generalship.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Spain and Portugal lost their hold upon their subject provinces in America, the largest and most important of all colonial possessions attached to a European sovereignty has been Canada—in extent of territory, in the fertility of her soil, in the number of her population, superior to any other colony in the world. The union of the two Canadas was enacted in 1840. It is no slight credit to British statesmanship that from this epoch the allegiance of such a dependency should have been preserved,

strengthened, and confirmed; notwithstanding grave internal dissensions, occasional disputes with the mother-country, and the close propinquity of a great republic, an example of triumphant secession. But it was in Canada that the British statesmen gradually worked out experimentally the science of colonial administration, and felt their way towards consummating the right relations between a colony and its metropolis by the gradual devolution of internal self-government.

The first constitution granted to Canada in 1791 was, for those days, liberal; it created a parliament consisting of an elected assembly, and a Legislative Council, nominated by the Governor, for each of the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada; and some years afterwards the Assemblies undertook the raising of additional revenue by taxation. But the executive power was in the hands of the Governor and his Council; and it naturally became the object of the Assemblies to use their taxing power as an instrument for wresting administrative control and official patronage out of those hands; while in the Assembly of Lower Canada the division between the French and English parties was rapidly widened, in the contest for superiority, by religious and racial animosities. In this province the majority were French, mainly agricultural; the English minority held the larger farms, monopolized the trade, wholesale and retail, were richer and more enterprising; so that the discord produced by these divergent interests bred open disorder, and when Lord Durham reached the colony in 1838, the constitution of Lower Canada had been suspended. The cause of this political confusion he found to be the antagonism prevailing between the elected bodies and the executive government;

and the remedy that Lord Durham devised was a much more liberal recognition of the representative principle in the administration. He also proposed the union of the two Provinces in one Legislative Assembly; whereby the popular representation could be elevated and strengthened, and the French party in Lower Canada could be held in check by a majority in a national chamber. It was a wise and eminently successful measure, yet the great value of the reforms that followed Lord Durham's celebrated report lay not so much in the constitutional amendment as in the change of policy that he strenuously recommended, and that was accepted by the ministry at home. In the first Parliament held under the Union in 1841 the Governor General formally recognized the system of administering the country through responsible ministers. Nevertheless, the complete admission of the principle that executive power and responsibility are vested in ministers commanding a majority in the legislature, dates from the Governor Generalship of Lord Elgin,* who accorded full scope to the play of representative institutions, placed himself above and beyond the strife of parties on questions of internal politics, and resolutely supported his ministers so long as they were kept in office by a majority. His immovable adherence to this principle was put to a sharp test. When the ministry passed a bill authorizing the indemnification of damages caused to French inhabitants of Lower Canada by a revolt in that province, the British party broke out into furious riot, burnt the Parliament house, and demanded the Governor General's recall. But Lord Elgin's firmness on this occasion convinced the French Canadians that they might rely on

* 1847–1854.

the Governor General's impartiality; and ministerial responsibility was thenceforward effectually established. Twenty-five years later, Lord Dufferin faced another storm of unpopularity in steadfastly backing his ministers against tumultuous opposition to their proceedings.

It is worth noticing that the Irish famine of 1846, which so deeply interested Lord Dufferin, and first roused his attention to public affairs, affected so distant a country as Canada. A great multitude of starving and sickly emigrants from Ireland flooded the colony, reinforcing the Roman Catholic population, and forming a party not without sympathy, at first, with the resentment against England fostered by their fellow-countrymen in the United States. But in the next generation this feeling had almost died away. When Lord Dufferin, an Oxford undergraduate, was striving to alleviate misery at home, and to aid the flight of impoverished peasants from a desolate land, he little thought that he should meet them and their children under very different conditions in Canada.

But the Legislative Union was imperfect and inconclusive as an organic institution, for by the equal representation of the two provinces, political parties were so nearly balanced as to produce chronic instability of Cabinets. And the civil war in the United States impressed upon the British government the necessity of strengthening Canada by a wider measure of national consolidation. In 1864 the first definite movement towards Confederation was initiated by a conference between delegates from the two Canadas, Upper and Lower. It was joined by delegates from the maritime provinces, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island; and after considerable discussion resolutions were drawn

up, which formed the basis of the Confederation that was finally sanctioned by the Imperial Parliament in 1867.

By the British North American Act of 1867, passed when Lord Carnarvon was Colonial Secretary, the four provinces of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, had been united under the name of the Dominion of Canada, and July 1 had been celebrated as Dominion Day. But the accession of Nova Scotia to this union had been opposed by a strong party in that province, on the ground that the question had not been laid before the constituencies by a dissolution of the local assembly; and on the next general election the Nova Scotian ministry that had assented to confederation was driven from office. It was not until more satisfactory terms were offered to Nova Scotia by the Dominion ministry, that the Act of the Imperial Parliament was allowed to come smoothly into practical operation. In 1871, British Columbia and Vancouver's Island joined the Confederation upon conditions, the most important of which stipulated that the Canadian railway to the Pacific should be commenced within two years and completed in ten. The territory of Manitoba, purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company, had been constituted a province of the Confederation in 1869; but on the Lieutenant-Governor's arrival to take possession he was resisted by an armed party led by Louis Riel, a French half-breed; and the worst act of violence committed on the English-speaking population by these rebels was the cruel murder of Thomas Scott, an emigrant from Ontario, and the son of a tenant on Lord Dufferin's Clandeboye estate. In an expedition that was despatched to put down the insurrection Colonel (now Viscount) Wolseley first proved himself

a skilful military leader, of singular judgment and resource in arduous circumstance. The rebellion was suppressed, and the people were conciliated and brought into the union; but Riel escaped and remained several years at large. The Dominion of Canada now extended across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific shore, yet Prince Edward's Island and Newfoundland held aloof; and all subsequent overtures have failed to bring Newfoundland within the Confederation.

When, therefore, Lord Dufferin assumed office in 1872, he found the whole of British North America, except the two islands in the Atlantic, consolidated into one Commonwealth; and he was the first who assumed the Governor Generalship under auspices so full of promise for the future prosperity of the great Dominion. Yet, although the weaving together of these hitherto separate territories had been accomplished, some loose ends still remained to be gathered up. The line of railway to the Pacific, which was of vital importance to the connexion, territorial and administrative, of the far western states with the eastern centres of trade and government, had not yet been surveyed; the obstacles of slow and tiresome journeying by uncertain communications kept the provinces apart, while in the interior the jarring elements of race and religion were still active. The Red Indians were still but partially tamed and settled in the West; the French population had rarely intermingled with the English-speaking inhabitants; and these two sections formed political bodies that seldom came into contact without friction. In Manitoba the just resentment of the English for Scott's assassination, and a determination to punish his murderers, was still fierce and firm. Between Canada and the great republic on

her southern frontier there were several undetermined questions; and the United States were never backward in taking umbrage upon slight provocation, or in bringing their powerful pressure to bear upon the weak points of the British dominion in North America. Nevertheless Lord Lisgar could declare, in his speech before vacating the Governor Generalship in 1872, that he left no serious difficulties to his successor, and that there were no clouds on the political horizon of Canada. The task remaining for Lord Dufferin was to consolidate the edifice on these broad foundations, to act the part of supreme moderator and referee in all inter-Statal disputes or misunderstandings, and, above all, to draw closer the ties of loyalty and reciprocal interests that attached, with increasing strength, this powerful autonomous Confederation to the British empire.

Lord Dufferin's nomination had created lively expectations in Canada. Among his immediate predecessors no one had come out with equal rank and reputation, or with his record of public services at home. His love of art and literature, his open-handed liberality, his travels abroad and his position in English society, were the points of attraction that gave lustre to excellent practical abilities. The Canadian press lost no time in expounding to His Excellency, upon his arrival in the colony, the nature and extent of his duties, exhorting him to repair the shortcomings of his predecessors in sumptuary matters and social deportment, to entertain freely, to be easy of access, to govern constitutionally. Few had been the Governors, it was impressed upon him, whose hospitality had been on the scale befitting a popular ruler in the broad sense of that enviable designation. If they had not (said the journalist) encroached upon the liberties of the people, neither had they much

entrenched for the popular benefit upon their own salaries; they had travelled little about the country, and were exclusive at headquarters—"the ladies who presided at Government House had not always drawn the distinction between coldness and condescension." Not only what he should avoid, but what he should do, was delicately suggested to him; he should visit all parts of the Dominion, should converse affably with all sorts and conditions of men, attend festive gatherings, patronize public sports, and closely identify himself by these arts with the population; bearing always in mind that the slightest deviation from constitutional principles would be quickly and stoutly reprehended.

Not every Governor General, on his first appearance in a strange country, would have read without uneasiness a programme of this admonitory sort, published for his information and guidance. Lord Dufferin, however, seems to have been in no way disconcerted; for whatever had been the colonial expectations they were not only fulfilled but surpassed. From Quebec their Excellencies proceeded to the administrative capital at Ottawa, and thence without delay to Montreal, where the Governor General replied to an address from the Mayor in French by a speech in the same language. The journalists reported, to the admiration of the Canadians, that "His Excellency speaks French with a pure Parisian accent, he also reads Greek and Latin, and has made considerable progress in hieroglyphics." Lord Dufferin returned from Montreal to Quebec, where he fitted up quarters for a month's residence, by considerable outlay of his own money, in the old Fort.

He writes on July 24, 1872, to Lady Dartrey—

"The view from the citadel of Quebec is really

quite magnificent. To the right at your feet, close to the perpendicular walls of the fortress and stretching far away into the distance west and east, lies the broad expanse of the St. Lawrence, with hundreds of large three-masted ships floating on its bosom, while a quantity of busy little steamers, or flitting sail-boats, give inexpressible cheerfulness to the scene. On the other hand is the stream of the St. Charles girdling the northern bastion of the city, and beyond it there stretches a beautiful rich undulating plain, decorated with hundreds of white glistening vales, wood-lawns and cornfields, intermingled with many a church spire, and far away in the distance the range of the Laurentian hills. These form a very picturesque outline, and are covered almost to their summits with wood, while every hour of the day their colour varies under the prismatic alchemy of the translucent atmosphere."

"I have at last succeeded" (he wrote) "in fighting my way into the citadel of Quebec, though Wolfe scarcely met with greater difficulties in doing so;" he had now, that is to say, taken possession of the apartments that had cost him much to repair and furnish. Here he began a course of receptions, levées, dinner-parties, and dances, varied by visits to public institutions—that delighted all classes of the people, and certainly opened their hearts toward a Governor General who was giving such acceptable proofs of his desire to know and be known by them, and whose words were as ready and genial as his hospitality. He wrote from there to Lady Dartrey on September 5—

"I am very much pleased with what I have seen of the society. Both men and women are dignified, unpretending, and polite, very gay and ready to be amused, simple in their ways of life, and quite free from vulgarity or swagger."

"Encamped as we have been" (he said in a speech

on leaving Quebec), "upon the rock above us, and confined within the narrow carcanets of the citadel, it was impossible for us to open our doors as widely as we could have wished; but though in one sense the space for your accommodation has been restricted, in another way, at all events, we can make provision for you all. In the chambers of our hearts there is room and verge enough for many friends: their avenues are guarded by no state or ceremonial, . . . and those who once enter need never take their leave."

The genial hospitality of their Excellencies had not been thrown away.

"When we arrived at Quebec" (Lord Dufferin writes) "the inhabitants showed neither interest nor curiosity . . . but on quitting the same place a few months later the whole population lined the streets, the sky was darkened with flags, we ourselves were deluged with bouquets, and half a dozen steamers crammed full with the society of the place escorted us twelve miles up the river. Ever since we have never entered a town without being met by horse, foot and artillery, and all the paraphernalia of a triumphal progress."

The visits to Toronto, where Lord Dufferin rented a house for some weeks, and again to Montreal, were celebrated by similar festivities. Their Excellencies were seen everywhere, at the schools and at the sports. To a New York newspaper a correspondent from Canada wrote—

"Not only does he give splendid balls and magnificent dinners, but he holds levées, attends concerts, patronizes Lacrosse matches, lays corner stones, attends University convocations, receives addresses on all possible occasions, and delivers happy impromptu replies."

The lively versatility with which Lord Dufferin

could adapt his speeches to very diverse audiences, his power of felicitous local allusion, and the genuine interest that he showed in education at all stages, were welcomed with admiring approbation by a community to whom this style of interpreting high duties and official dignities appears to have been a surprising novelty. They took attentive notice of his manners, and listened to his advice upon the subject. The emphasis that he laid, in speaking to a girls' school, on the importance of cultivating natural politeness, on the essential distinction between self-reliance and self-assertion, was carefully reported and well received. To judge from the comments of the Canadian press, the procession, so to call it, of Lord and Lady Dufferin through the principal towns of Canada during 1872, their unstinted exertions to make acquaintance with all classes, to secure their confidence by kindliness and even profuse liberality, by the art of wearing lightly and easily the indispensable armour of official etiquette, were rewarded by enthusiastic appreciation.

In November (1872) Lord Dufferin was at Ottawa, his official capital. It was then, as he describes it—

"a very desolate place, consisting of a jumble of brand new houses and shops, built or building, and a wilderness of wooden shanties spread along either side of long, broad strips of mud, intersecting each other at right angles, which are to form the future streets of Canada's capital. Ottawa can, however, boast two fine features, one natural the other artificial, the one the river and its delta, and the other a magnificent Gothic pile of public buildings in which are included the Houses of Parliament and the ministerial offices."

From Ottawa he wrote to the Duke of Argyll—

"The loyalty of this people is universal, and

perfectly genuine and disinterested. Not a shilling of English money finds its way here, and the £ s. d. argument would probably lead many of them to annexation: but they are intensely proud of being Englishmen, of being able to claim a share in the past glories and in the future prospects of the mother country."

In a country of no great inequality in rank and fortunes, where habits of life are for the most part uniform and simple, the impersonation of the refinement and culture of the best metropolitan society by the representatives of distant royalty, by a Governor General who was expansive, adventurous, gay, and by a lady who sustained her own part with a kindly grace that won universal applause, must have been signally effective. Without doubt it was also advantageous politically. That it had done great good in this latter sense was admitted by Sir John Macdonald, the Canadian Premier, although he nevertheless hinted an apprehension that hospitality on a grand scale might create a difficulty for future Governors General, and that too magnificent an assertion of the imperial sovereignty would not altogether please all Canadians, many of whom, he said, had been more or less tinged with American ideas. And it is, in fact, conceivable that to the notions of parliamentary ministers the prospect of a great rise in the influence and popularity of a Governor General might not be wholly palatable. Lord Dufferin's English friends had apprehensions of another sort. A few months later the Duke of Argyll, writing to him on other matters, added this postscript—

"I hear terrible things about your expenditure. People say that you will be entirely ruinated. Do not be too Irish, or too Sheridanish: it is an awful

combination. Of course everybody is delighted, I hear, with you and yours."

Mr. Gladstone, however, sent his congratulations "on the satisfactory commencement of your rule in Canada."

"Much has been done" (he went on to say) "by the policy of late years toward rectifying our relations with our Colonial dependencies. With none of them are these relations more satisfactory than with the Dominion, and I am confident that its people will feel the ennobling sense of manhood grow within them from year to year, and will never think of craving for the fleshpots of the old and semi-servile system."

Lord Dufferin did well to spare no pains, during the first six months of his Governor Generalship in making himself conversant with Canada and its people; since from the beginning of 1873 he had serious business in hand. In March he opened, with striking ceremonial display, the second Parliament of the united Dominion.

"The spectacle" (he wrote to Lord Kimberley) "was really very fine, the day was bright and sunshiny, and the house was more completely filled with well-dressed ladies than has ever been the case before"—a gratifying tribute to the social popularity of their Excellencies. The Governor General, after reading his speech in English, repeated it in French; but although the journalists had endowed him with a fine Parisian accent, he himself found comfort in the reflection that even the colonial pronunciation did not entirely attain to that standard of perfection. The most important announcement in the speech was that a charter had been granted to a body of Canadian capitalists for the construction of the Pacific Railway. Out of this business arose the complications and

violent parliamentary controversies that occupied the whole session, kindled animosity and recriminations between the eastern and western provinces, and compelled Sir John Macdonald, with his ministry, to resign office before the year's end. Although the particulars have now but little interest except to the annalist of colonial politics, it is necessary to give some account of transactions that tested Lord Dufferin's judgment and steady handling of his constitutional powers during the first twelve months of his Governor Generalship.

In accordance with the terms upon which British Columbia joined the Confederation, an Act had been passed in 1871 by which the Dominion government stood pledged to provide a subsidy toward constructing the Pacific railway, and to arrange for its completion within ten years from July 1871. After some competition between two companies for the contract to make this line, the Premier, Sir John Macdonald, succeeded in negociating the formation of a third company, which included members of the two rival associations, with Sir Hugh Allan, a well-known Canadian capitalist, as chairman. One of the stipulations made by the Act authorizing the incorporation of a company to undertake the railway, had been that the management and control should be as far as possible in the hands of Canadian subjects of the British Crown; and Sir Hugh Allan had declared that in forming his company this condition had been observed.

It was to this company that the announcement at the opening of Parliament in March referred. But in April a member of the Opposition, Mr. Huntingdon, unexpectedly moved for an inquiry into the circumstances connected with the negociations that had preceded its formation, alleging that the capital funds

had been surreptitiously obtained from subscribers in the United States, with the cognizance of the Canadian government, and upon an understanding that in consideration of receiving the contract, Sir Hugh Allan and his friends should contribute a large sum of money toward promoting the return of Sir John Macdonald and his party at the next general election. This motion, being treated by the ministry as one of non-confidence, was immediately put to the vote and defeated; but the Premier next day proposed and subsequently carried a resolution appointing a special Parliamentary Committee to make the inquiry demanded by Mr. Huntingdon. The next step was to pass a Bill empowering this Committee to examine witnesses on oath. Although Sir John Macdonald doubted whether such an enactment would be found to be within the competency of the Canadian Parliament, he could not oppose it without laying himself under the imputation of obstructing the inquiry on a technical point. It was left to the Governor General to determine whether he should assent to the Bill, or reserve the question of legal validity for decision by Her Majesty's government; and Lord Dufferin determined to give his assent. In his judgment the Bill was within Canadian jurisdiction; and since the effect of a reservation would be to postpone indefinitely the investigation of very grave charges affecting the honour of his ministers, the motive of creating such delay would, he thought, be very widely misinterpreted. The Committee met, accordingly, for the inquiry; but the absence of some essential witnesses induced them to adjourn until August, and in the mean time the Oaths Bill was disallowed as *extra vires* by the Home government. All further proceedings by the Parliamentary

Committee were then virtually abandoned, as some of the members declined to hear unsworn evidence. The House of Commons adjourned, however, to August 13, on the understanding that its meeting on that day should be merely formal, for the reception of any report that might be submitted by the Committee, and that the Governor General would then prorogue it. But in July a Montreal newspaper published some confidential correspondence between Sir Hugh Allan and persons in the United States, which appeared partly to corroborate some of Mr. Huntingdon's allegations, though it did not otherwise seriously affect the ministers. This was followed, however, by the publication of other private papers, much more closely connecting Sir John Macdonald with the disbursement by Sir Hugh Allan of large sums to be employed in the coming electoral campaign. Over these revelations a storm of popular excitement, of distrust, and of invective against the ministry, set in. It should be said at once that subsequent inquiry disproved all charges of corrupt bargains on the part of the minister; nevertheless the facts that Sir Hugh Allan had contributed unusually large sums toward the election fund of the government, and that he had been promised, though previously, the chairmanship of the railway—were sufficient to provide Sir John Macdonald's opponents with matter for vehement denunciations and plausible outcry.

At the moment of this explosion, Lord Dufferin was in Prince Edward's Island. As Parliament had been adjourned to August 13, he had planned a journey to the maritime provinces during the interval, and in June he took ship at Quebec, steamed down the river into the gulf of St. Lawrence,

rounded the coast to a port in New Brunswick, and after a short stay crossed to Prince Edward's Island. He congratulated the islanders on the accession, which had just been accomplished, of their province to the Confederation, held levées, received and replied to addresses, and passed on to Pictou in Nova Scotia, where he was loyally welcomed. Another short voyage landed him in Cape Breton Island, at Louisburgh, a place of famous memory in the old French wars, particularly for its siege and capture by a party of New England volunteers in 1745, when Louisburgh was the main stronghold of the French in those parts. The next port was Halifax, where the Governor General's reception (he wrote) was at first very cold. The friction caused by the somewhat hasty and inconsiderate bringing of Nova Scotia into the Union had not yet been forgotten, and Confederation was still unpopular. Moreover the recent revelations had made a sudden change in the tone of the press, and the political temperature had fallen as by a shift of the wind. Public opinion throughout the Dominion now became concentrated upon the Governor General, whose views, intentions, and probable line of action in regard to the Parliament's prorogation, were eagerly canvassed. While the political prophets of each party confidently foretold that His Excellency must and would take the course that was dictated by their interests, he was strictly and severely warned by both parties against the dangerous constitutional error of siding with their opponents. Lord Dufferin was under this cross-fire of angry recriminations when his health was proposed at a banquet in Halifax by the Chief Justice, who said—

"Now, when His Excellency is embarked on a sea

of political currents and vicissitudes, where the waters boil and fret below, his parliamentary training and antecedents assure us that, in discharging the high duties of a constitutional Governor, there will be still a guiding star, an elevated point to which his aim will be directed, and which will preserve untarnished the dignity of the Crown and his own personal honour."

Lord Dufferin was addressed as the pilot who could be trusted to weather a storm; and he replied in a straightforward yet remarkably adroit speech, disowning any political partisanship, and affirming a position above the winds and waves of parliamentary strife. He declared that his only guiding star, in the conduct of public affairs, was the Canadian Parliament, and that as for the newspapers that condemned his views and opinions, about which they knew nothing, their displeasure would be, he believed, no less transitory and innocuous than the castigations inflicted upon Mumbo Jumbo by simple folk when the crops or the cattle had gone wrong. The speech made a very good effect in Nova Scotia and elsewhere; but the time was evidently unpropitious for a quiet midsummer cruise; and Lord Dufferin's correspondence shows how these troubles beset him as he returned expeditiously to Ottawa.

At headquarters the situation was decidedly embarrassing; for the immediate issue between two bitterly hostile parties was whether the Parliament should be prorogued after the pro-formâ meeting on August 13, as had been arranged at the last adjournment. Prorogation meant the temporary postponement of all inquiry into the direct charges of misconduct that were now hanging over the ministry, fiercely pressed by the Opposition, and generally believed

in the country to have some foundation. Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues, nevertheless, officially advised the Governor General to prorogue; while on the other hand the Opposition leaders vehemently demanded that the inquiry should be prosecuted at once, protesting that prorogation would be an obvious and indefensible device to shield discredited ministers, and to connive at the suspension of their impeachment. On Sir John Macdonald's side it was urged that since the meeting of Parliament had been understood to be merely for the despatch of unimportant business, to be immediately followed by prorogation, a large number of members from the distant constituencies would be absent; that the enemies of the ministry, on the other hand, were mustering all their forces, and that the result of investigating the charges before a House so constituted would be that the Premier would be tried by his accusers. For the Governor General to refuse prorogation, moreover, would have been to act on the advice, not of his ministers, but of the Opposition, and to prejudge the case, in a certain degree, by a strong indication of distrust. Upon these considerations Lord Dufferin agreed with his ministers to prorogue, having stipulated that the Parliament should meet again within two months or so for resuming the inquiry. Two hours before he entered the Senate chamber, a deputation from members of the Opposition pressed him in very strong language to adjourn; the House of Commons opened its sitting in a tumult of anger and indignation; and His Excellency's message was greeted with "groans, hisses, and uproar."

Nevertheless the prorogation was announced, and as the storm subsided, it was found that the promise of an autumn session was admitted by the public at

large to be a reasonable alternative, so that Lord Dufferin gained the credit of having piloted the ship with constitutional steadiness through an awkward strait. The leader of the Opposition, whose voice had been loudest against the Governor General, was Mr. Mackenzie; but even his wrath Lord Dufferin contrived to mollify—

"Luckily, the other evening" (he wrote to the Colonial Secretary) "I stumbled up against Mackenzie in the dark, and had a chat, which went off very amicably—indeed, so amicably that the next day he called upon me to apologize for some harsh expressions which had been falsely attributed to him in the report of the indignation meeting over which he presided. During the course of this conversation I found he had got it into his head that the government at home was unfavourable to him, but on this point I completely reassured him, explaining that neither you nor Mr. Gladstone would raise your little finger to save any Canadian Prime Minister—and that all he had to do was to present himself to me with a parliamentary majority at his tail, and that he would find me as loyal and friendly to him as I then was to Macdonald. This pleased him immensely."

Lord Dufferin's feelings are concisely described in the following extract from a private letter to Lord Kimberley:—

"I have been very much bored and worried, and it is vexatious being dragged into such a dirty quarrel: and I regret coming into collision with any section of my Canadians. But I don't think their ill-humour will last long, and I am not sorry to have an opportunity of showing them that however anxious I may be to be gracious and civil, I don't care a damn for any one when a matter of duty is involved."

One of the chief objections raised against the

measure of prorogation had been that it would necessarily operate to dissolve, *ipso facto*, the Parliamentary Committee to whom the inquiry into the minister's conduct had been made over. But Lord Dufferin held that this argument could not outweigh the much more important considerations that determined his action, and that this business ought to be treated separately. He explained his views with characteristic vivacity in his public despatch reporting all the circumstances.

"The reasons which induced me to agree to the prorogation of Parliament . . . appeared sufficiently cogent to overpower any countervailing arguments founded on the necessity of keeping the Committee alive. However much I might have desired to do so, I could not have treated Parliament as a pregnant woman, and prolonged its existence for the sake of the lesser life attached to it."

It may be here mentioned that Her Majesty's government, in acknowledging the receipt of Lord Dufferin's despatches, fully approved his having acted according to constitutional usage; and that the London *Times*, which had reflected rather hastily on his proceeding, now pronounced his vindication to be complete.

Immediately after proroguing the Parliament, Lord Dufferin issued a Commission to three gentlemen of high judicial standing, directing them to investigate the circumstances under which the Railway contract had been granted. This act brought down upon the Governor General a fresh shower of aspersions, for since the Commission was appointed on the advice of his ministers, he was charged with having permitted the accused, by collusion, to select their own judges. Nevertheless, the Commissioners held a public inquiry, and reported to Parliament the evidence that had been collected, without recording any opinion thereupon.

Although the imputation of corrupt practices was clearly refuted, it was proved that the Premier had accepted, from a person to whom the government had granted a contract, large sums of money which had been employed to influence the elections. In a letter written to Sir John Macdonald shortly before Parliament reassembled, Lord Dufferin said, after completely absolving him from all charges affecting his personal integrity—

"It is still an indisputable and patent fact that you and some of your colleagues have been the channels through which extravagant sums of money, derived from a person with whom you were negociating on the part of the Dominion, were distributed throughout the constituencies of Ontario and Quebec, and have been applied to purposes forbidden by the statutes."

Seven days of acrimonious debate on the report of the Commissioners began with the meeting of the Parliament on October 23; Prince Edward's Island having in the mean time joined the Confederation. The speeches were enormously long, the blows interchanged were rough and heavy; it was not so much a crossing of rapiers as a whacking of clubs. Sir John Macdonald defended himself with great courage and consummate ability, but the facts reported were undeniably damaging, and the ranks of his adherents became gradually weaker by defection, until after a week's hard fighting he anticipated an adverse division by tendering his resignation, which the Governor General accepted. To Lord Dufferin, who had been prepared for it, this conclusion was not on the whole unsatisfactory, since in his private opinion a formal approval, by a majority, of the proceedings of the ministry would have been detrimental to the reputation of the Canadian Parliament. Thus ended the great Pacific Railway Scandal.

"The hard part of the business has been" (Lord Dufferin writes) "that all the time I was being accused of partiality, and devotion to the interests of my ministers, my real sympathies were quite the other way—not indeed with the politicians who were working the scandal against Macdonald for their own ends, but with the sound-thinking portion of the nation, who in spite of their predilections for the man who had done more than anybody else to erect them into a nation, were endeavouring, in a blind, untutored way, to get at the truth, and to relieve themselves of the discredit in which their rulers had involved them.

"But for this very reason, I was quite determined not to allow the Opposition 'to chop their fox,' as they wanted to do on August 13, instead of running him fairly to ground in accordance with the rules of our constitution. It is an infinitely prouder and better thing for Canada that the Dominion should have purged the scandal through the action of her own Parliament, than by the intervention of an Imperial officer."

Mr. Mackenzie, the leader of the Opposition, formed a fresh ministry, which was returned at the next election by a great superiority of numbers.

"I am upon very pleasant terms" (Lord Dufferin writes) "with my new government. Both Mackenzie and his colleagues have made me a very handsome admission that the Pacific Scandal crisis has been conducted to a far more satisfactory issue than would have been the case had their own violent counsels of last session been followed."

The wind of public opinion veered round in Lord Dufferin's favour; journalistic censure, irritable popular suspiciousness, insinuations of underhand dealings, were cleared off the political sky; and he found himself again riding before a fair breeze of general approbation and confidence. Yet it must

be confessed that his earlier impressions of warm sunshine and smooth sailing in an atmosphere of complimentary speeches and festive cordiality, had been considerably modified by later experiences in the High Latitudes of Canadian politics.

The winter of 1873–74 was spent for the most part at Ottawa; and Lord Dufferin had leisure for reviewing the impressions of Canada that he had collected during the first year of his Governor Generalship. We find him writing to Lord Carnarvon—

"Life is at times dull and lonely. Luckily I have been able to take to the winter amusements of the country, and with skating and curling get plenty of exercise.

"I also find great consolation in my books. I have read a great deal of French history and the whole of Plutarch's Lives in the original tongue since coming here. I can now read Greek almost as well as French without a dictionary."

Lord Carnarvon replied—

"I quite appreciate the sense of occasional weariness which you describe as coming over you: but I hope you will put it aside, for you have a great work to do; though the feeling of direct and personal power may be wanting, yet the indirect influence that you exercise is really quite as powerful. Above all, your influence is required now when you have new men in office on whom as yet it is impossible to place as much reliance as on their predecessors. If only you can hold things together in Canada and consolidate the Dominion, we shall have a reasonable chance of preserving it from absorption into its larger neighbour."

To the Governor of an autonomous English colony the condition and tendency of public opinion in regard to its connexion with the mother country,

are questions of supreme interest. The British empire presents the unique spectacle of a metropolitan State controlling by sundry and manifold relations a number of possessions and dependencies in different parts of the world, all of them relying for defence and protection mainly upon the imperial command of the seas. No other empire has been, or is, so constituted; and this geographical situation lies at the base of our colonial policy. Great Britain has acquired, during the course of the nineteenth century, the habit of holding her possessions in North America and Australasia upon the very singular political tenure of sovereignty by mutual consent. She manages her free self-governing colonies with a light hand and a loose rein, and is always ready to inquire whether they find the harness comfortable. Lord Dufferin's first letter to Lord Carnarvon, who succeeded Lord Kimberley as Colonial Secretary in the beginning of 1874, dwells naturally upon this question; and he has the satisfaction of assuring his chief that Canada is profoundly loyal.

April 25, 1874.—"You may depend upon my doing my best both to weld this Dominion into an Imperium solid enough to defy all attraction from its powerful neighbour across the Line, and to perpetuate its innate loyalty to the mother country. It was only upon the understanding that this should be a principal part of our programme, that I consented to come here, and thus far I have no cause to complain of the result.

"All active desire for annexation seems to be annihilated. No public man would dare to breathe a word in its favour, and those who committed themselves a few years ago to such a policy are doing all they can to obtain oblivion for their opinions. There may indeed be a few individuals at Montreal—bankers, capitalists, and others—whose material

interests are so implicated with various commercial undertakings in the States, as to make them wish for a change, but the whole current of popular sympathy runs in an opposite direction. But though union with the Republic has become an obsolete idea, I cannot help suspecting that there is a growing desire amongst the younger generation to regard 'Independence' as their ultimate destiny. Nor do I think that this novel mode of thought will be devoid of benefit, provided it remains for the next twenty or thirty years a vague aspiration, and is not prematurely converted into a practical project. Hitherto there has been a lack of self-assertion and self-confidence amongst Canadians in forcible contrast with the sentiments which animate our friends to the south of us; now, however, the consolidation of the provinces, the expansion of their maritime interests and above all the reduction to their sway of the great North-West, has stimulated their imagination, and evoked the prospect of a national career far grander than as Nova Scotians, or New Brunswickers, or Upper and Lower Canadians, they would have dreamt of a few years ago.

"If then this growing consciousness of power should stimulate their pride in the resources and future of their country, nay, even if it should sometimes render them jealous of any interference on the part of England with their Parliamentary autonomy, I do not think we shall have any cause of complaint. On the contrary, we should view with favour the rise of a high-spirited proud national feeling amongst them. Such a sentiment would neither be antagonistic to our interests, nor inimical to the maintenance of the tie which now subsists between us. The one danger to be avoided is that of converting this healthy and irrepressible growth of a localized patriotism into a condition of morbid suspicion or irritability, by any exhibition of jealousy, or by the capricious exercise of authority on the part of the Imperial

government. Nothing has more stimulated the passionate affection with which Canada now clings to England than the consciousness that the maintenance of the connexion depends on her own free-will.

"Were, however, the curb to be pressed too tightly, she might soon become impatient, the cry for independence would be raised a generation too soon, and annexation would be the direct and immediate consequence. For with her present inferiority of population, wealth, and more especially her obvious want of political stamina, the force of gravitation unbalanced by the influence of the English connexion which now overcomes it, would drag her straight into the bosom of the great Republic.

"One thing at least is pretty sure, namely, that the St. Lawrence will eventually become the great outlet for the products of the northern half of the continent, whether grown on Canadian or United States territory. In another fifty years Montreal will rival New York, and if the international boundary is ever to alter, it is just as likely to do so in a southerly as a northerly direction.

"Be that as it may, and quite apart from all considerations of our own advantage, it will be for the future welfare of this continent that it should not be dominated by a single government, or its civilization fashioned in the same mould and cut to a uniform pattern. Already the social, political, and intellectual monotony which pervades America is very oppressive; and one shudders to think of this gigantic area becoming possessed by an enormous population of units, as undistinguishable from one another as peas in their habits of thought and conduct, and subject consequently to an instantaneous impulse from any sudden paroxysm or wave of historical sentiment. From this evil Canada at all events will deliver them, if only she gets the chance of developing her individuality, for every year will render more distinct the differences which will be evolved out of a different political system."

It has been already said that the general election placed Mr. Mackenzie in office by a decisive majority. When the new Parliament assembled in March 1874, the ministry were at once confronted by a serious difficulty. The constituency of Provencher in Manitoba, in which French influence predominated, had returned as their member Louis Riel, who was under an indictment for the murder of Thomas Scott during the Manitoba insurrection of 1869, and had hitherto evaded arrest. He nevertheless entered the House of Commons, took the oath, and again disappeared, not without some connivance, as was generally believed, within Ottawa. Meanwhile Lepine, who had been Riel's chief staff-officer at the time of Scott's murder, had been captured and was awaiting his trial. Here was a case that threatened to stir up again active discussion between the two sections, divided by race and religion, in the population of the Dominion. Riel was regarded by the French half-breeds of the West as their champion and representative; while the sentiments of Lower Canada, where the inhabitants are of French descent, were deeply tinged by the same feeling of nationality. The English-speaking folk were equally determined that this notorious criminal should not escape retribution; and in this situation, clouded as it was by smouldering heat, Lord Dufferin was anxious to avert an open breach between the two parties. The new ministers were in dire perplexity, being equally reluctant either to quarrel with their French supporters or to offend the Protestant community of Ontario, the province to which Scott belonged, and where Mr. Mackenzie, when a member of the Ontario government, had offered a reward for Riel's capture. They foresaw that in the event of Lepine's conviction on

the capital charge it would be for them to determine whether the sentence should be executed; and they were already suggesting the expediency of referring this critical question to the discretion of the Imperial government. Lord Carnarvon, to whom the state of this affair had been explained, wrote in November, 1874, to Lord Dufferin—

"As regards Lepine's case, I apprehend, I think, quite clearly, the danger of the present state of feelings in Canada; and I am aware that any mismanagement might lead to the most grave results. This is the only justification in my eyes for not carrying out the just sentence of the law upon a horrible and cold-blooded policy; but I regard it as a case of '*salus populi*.' . . . If I am obliged, for a great public necessity and in the last resort, to intervene, it must and can only be at the express request of your government. The telegraph so quickly brings these questions into new stages, that I need not say more. I can fortunately feel such confidence in your discretion and tact, as well as in your courage, to do whatever is necessary and right, that I may—what I would hardly do in the case of any ordinary colonial governor—undertake to support you in whatever you may decide to do."

It will be convenient to anticipate matters by a brief account of subsequent proceedings, in which Lord Dufferin took an important and leading part.

Lepine's trial was held at Winnipeg in 1875, when he was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged. The Frenchmen and the Roman Catholics at once pressed upon the government a demand for his release, or at least for the commutation of his sentence, on the ground that both Lepine and Riel were entitled to the benefit of the amnesty that had been publicly offered to the Manitoba insurgents, and also on the

plea that a promise of pardon had been subsequently made to them for all offences, including Scott's murder, by the Roman Catholic Archbishop Taché, who had been officially authorized to go to Manitoba in 1870 for the purpose of using his influence to promote the pacification of that province. In 1873 the Colonial Secretary (Lord Kimberley) had intimated that his government would consent, at the invitation of Canada, to proclaim an amnesty for all offences committed during the Manitoba insurrection, *excepting* the murder of Scott. Before the trial had been held, Lord Dufferin sent a very complete and comprehensive review of all circumstances and considerations bearing on the case, in a despatch to Lord Carnarvon. His scrutiny of the facts made it absolutely clear that Archbishop Taché had been in no sense empowered to promise a pardon to Riel and Lepine, and that the general amnesty, having been issued before Scott's murder, could not possibly be made to screen them. Other futile pleas in their favour were summarily disproved, and the allegation that Scott was tried and executed under some form of judicial proceeding was thus disposed of by Lord Dufferin—

"Even the decencies of an ordinary drum-head court martial were disregarded. The trial, if it can be so termed, was conducted in the absence of the accused, who was confronted with no witnesses, nor furnished with any indictment, nor allowed to plead for his life. The further details of the tragedy are so horrible, if the statements in the evidence can be relied on, that I will not shock your Lordship by repeating them; suffice it to say that all the special pleading in the world will not prove the killing of Scott to be anything else than a cruel, wicked, and unnecessary crime, nor, had the origin of Riel's authority been

even less questionable, would it have invested him with the right of taking away the life of a fellow-citizen in so reckless and arbitrary a manner. I have, therefore, no hesitation in concluding that any claim for the extension of an amnesty to Riel founded on the assumption that the murder of Scott was a judicial execution by a legitimately constituted authority, must be disallowed."

Nevertheless it appeared that in 1871, two years after the murder, when the Manitoba border was threatened with an irruption of Fenians, the Lieutenant-Governor, having no other means of defending it, found himself obliged to appeal to the loyalty of the French half-breeds, accepted the services of levies made by Riel and Lepine, and officially acknowledged their timely assistance. To the argument, that by entering into such relations with these men the Lieutenant-Governor had virtually committed the Dominion government to a condonation of their previous offences, Lord Dufferin drew the special attention of the Colonial Office; and he summed up on the whole question by stating his opinion that the commutation of a capital sentence, if it were passed upon Lepine, would be desirable. He proposed to make the order whenever it should be necessary, on his own responsibility, if Her Majesty's government should assent to his doing so. In his reply, Lord Carnarvon, who was now Secretary for the Colonies, concurred with the Governor General in rejecting decisively all claims set up by Lepine on the pretext of a general amnesty or of the Archbishop's unauthorized promise of indemnity; but he admitted that the services rendered in 1871 by Riel and Lepine might entitle both of them to merciful consideration. And on this ground Lord Carnarvon agreed to the

commutation of a capital sentence upon Lepine into whatever term of imprisonment might appear proper to the Governor General in consultation with his ministers. On receiving a telegraphic abbreviation of these instructions, Lord Dufferin, dispensing with the advice of his ministers, commuted Lepine's sentence to imprisonment for two years from the date of his conviction, and to forfeiture of civic rights. Riel was still at large, but it was implied and understood that his punishment, whenever he should have been convicted, would be the same as Lepine's. The Governor General's action in thus passing the order on his sole responsibility was much questioned, as a constitutional point, both in the Colony and in the British Parliament. In this instance he was supported and justified by Her Majesty's government, yet it was subsequently deemed advisable to prescribe that, while a Governor General might use his own judgment in exercising the prerogative of mercy, he should in all such cases be bound to consult his ministers before doing so.

In a despatch written some ten days after issuing the order, Lord Dufferin reported that the commutation had been received with general acquiescence by all sections of the Canadian population, nor does it appear to have been criticized on the score of lenity. Yet to punish by a short imprisonment an offence which Lord Dufferin had formally recorded to be "a cruel and wicked crime," and which Lord Carnarvon had stigmatized in his despatch as a "brutal and atrocious murder," might well have been thought an excessive concession to political exigencies. It may have been expected that the certainty of escaping so easily would induce Riel to surrender. On the contrary, he absconded and remained at large for

ten years, until in 1885 he returned from Montana (U.S.), to stir up and head a fresh insurrection of the French half-breeds and Saskatchewan Indians, beyond Manitoba, against the Dominion government. The Indian tribes were seduced into joining the outbreak, several barbarous murders were committed, and the suppression of this rebellion cost Canada many valuable lives and five million dollars. It is satisfactory to learn that Riel, who had been foremost throughout all these troubles, was this time captured, tried, and convicted, and that in spite of strenuous agitation made for his reprieve by sympathizers in the country and in the Parliament, he ended his career on the gallows.

Section II.

CANADIAN TRAVELS.

In July 1874 Lord and Lady Dufferin embarked at Quebec on the great internal waterways, for an expedition westward through the chain of lakes that separate Canadian Ontario from the United States. The route can only be followed on a map, but for an outline it may be sufficient to say that the party went by river, narrows, and lakes, to Lake Superior, whence they turned eastward again, touching at places on the shore, and landing at Detroit and Chicago, where they were hospitably received by the citizens of the United States. By September they were again at Ottawa, where Lord Dufferin wrote to the Queen—

"Having just finished a tour of five thousand miles through the Dominion, he feels sure your Majesty will be glad to learn of the great prosperity with which this country is blessed. The harvest has

been remarkably good, all manufacturing industries are progressing, and during the whole of his journey Lord Dufferin has never met a beggar or an ill-clad person.

"The most striking feature of all, however, has been the unexampled exhibition of loyalty and affection to your Majesty's person and throne exhibited by the entire body of the people of every race, religion, and nationality, as well as their intense desire to maintain unimpaired their present connexion with Great Britain. Lord Dufferin has received upwards of a hundred and twenty addresses, every one of which was instinct with these sentiments; and every triumphal arch under which he passed—and he must have passed under several hundreds—was blazoned with mottoes indicative of the nation's love for their Sovereign."

For a description of the voyage, its scenery, and its incidents, Lord Dufferin's letters to the Duchess of Argyll, written after his return to Ottawa, may be quoted—

September 28, 1874.—"Since my last letter I have travelled five thousand four hundred miles, and ought therefore to have something to tell you.

"Our original starting-place was Quebec. Our first sight was the Falls of St. Feriole. We had driven a wearisome way over a jolty road, through a barren plateau amongst the hills, and getting out of the carriage had turned aside into the bush down a deep ravine and up the opposite side, till we reached another plateau covered with still denser wood and traversed by another trail. At the end of half a mile this suddenly terminated on the verge of a precipice overarched by trees. Right opposite to us rose, or rather fell what we had come to see—five distinct and successive falls of water, piled up one above the other to the sky, but each separated from each by the intervening pool into which it plunged. The united height of the

series of cataracts was so great as to prevent us seeing the bed of the river in which the last one buried itself hundreds of feet below where we were standing. As a consequence the succession of falling waters, and the precipices which confined them, seemed detached from the surrounding landscape, like a magical picture suddenly flashed upon our view.

"Our next bit of scenery was at Three Rivers. Here we had again to drive thirty miles through a sparsely settled country, till we reached the primeval woods and a great river that wound through their solitudes. Crossing this in a rude barge we landed on a desolate promontory, and soon found ourselves lost in the mazes of a track half choked with brambles, which wound round and about like the pathway in an enchanted forest. At last we heard the thunderous voice of the waterfall we had come to see, and forcing our way through the tangled underwood, reached a comparatively open glade, at one side of which there roared and tumbled the turbulent river, while on the other rose the 'palace of the Sleeping Beauty'—an enormous mansion five stories high with a hundred windows and as many chimneys, balconies, porticoes, and broad staircases leading to the open doorways; but the doorways were without doors, the windows without glass, the chimneys without smoke, the palace without an inhabitant, nor had a human being ever slept beneath its roof, though the structure had been standing there in lonely magnificence for many a long year. In fact a railway had been projected to the Fall, and a speculator had designed and completed this building as a gigantic hotel, but the railway never came, the speculator disappeared, and nought was left to tell the tale but this mysterious monument of his folly.

"Passing on to Toronto we went northwards by railway into the Muskoka district, which I was anxious to visit, as it is here the government has allotted the Free Grant lands to the new settlers.

It is a lovely district, intersected for hundreds of miles by a labyrinth of lakes, leading into each other through narrow sinuous channels, but though the land along their border is rich enough wherever it exists in any quantity, the surface of the country shows more rock than soil to the casual observer. The immigrants with whom I conversed appeared, however, in good heart, and very much pleased with themselves and their achievements. Their antecedents have been wonderfully strange and various. One pair had been valet and lady's maid at Keir, another man had been a scene shifter, and his wife an actress, a third couple had kept a jeweller's shop in Paris, two or three came from Iceland, one had been a soldier, and many of course were Irishmen.

"Reaching Parry Sound we took boat in a magnificent steamer placed at my disposal by the government. She is the first ship of her class on this side of the Atlantic, and had been originally known as the *Letter B* (Let her be)—a famous blockade runner during the War.

"In this vessel we coasted along the islands of the Georgian Bay and through the Straits of Sault Ste. Marie, calling at various little towns, villages, and Indian settlements on our way, until we found ourselves in the waters of Lake Superior, 600 feet above the level of the sea, in a cool crystal atmosphere, though with a summer sun flaming above our heads.

"Having put into one or two ports, including Michipicoten, where there is an island that grows agates, we eventually reached the River Nipigon. Here we disembarked, loaded some canoes with our tents and baggage, and had a most charming expedition of five days into the interior, trout fishing as we went along. Leaving Lady Dufferin in command of the encampment which we pitched at the edge of a pool alive with trout, I and one or two friends pushed northwards as far as Lake Nipigon, an enormous sheet of water stretching due north

about sixty miles. Having taken possession of it by bathing in its ice-cold depths, we turned about on our way back to the steamer.

"Our next point was Silver Islet. Originally a little rock about the size of a dining-room table peeping out of Lake Superior, it has now been expanded into a considerable island by dint of a succession of cribs filled with stones being built all round it, upon which have been superimposed houses, workshops, and engine-rooms,—the excuse of these achievements being a speck of silver ore casually observed on the surface of the original rock, which led to the discovery of one of the richest silver veins that exists in North America, and which is being followed to great advantage several hundred feet below the surface of the sea, under the auspices of an Irishman, whose family is settled on my estate.

"Having laden ourselves with specimens, we steamed off to Thunder Bay and Prince Arthur's Landing, the north-westernmost extremity of Lake Superior. Here we took a coach and went for fifty miles due west along what is known as the 'Dawson Route, till we reached Lake Shebandowan, where a campful of Pagan Indians were awaiting us. These were the first really unsettled Indians with whom I had ever come into contact, and the only ones I had ever seen with painted faces. After a short 'pow-wow,' at the end of which I presented the chiefs with some knives, pipes, and tobacco, we turned our faces homewards, and the next day commenced the descent of the Kaministiquia river. This was the only occasion on which we were afflicted with bad weather, but it could not have come more inopportunely. We had started at 5 a.m. in our canoes, and by 7 o'clock we were drenched to the skin, clothes and baggage swimming in water. To add to our misfortunes we had seven 'portages' on our way down, that is to say, we had to get out and unload the canoes and carry them and their contents over seven successive necks of

land to avoid the cataracts of the river, an operation which implied seven or eight miles' walking for the ladies.

"On our way we passed a waterfall, which is second only to Niagara in height and volume. About three o'clock the rain ceased, but the sun was not strong enough to dry our garments. It had been arranged that a small tug should meet us at the point where the river became navigable, nine miles above its mouth, and convey us thence to our own steamer which was waiting for us at anchor in the offing. Judge of our dismay when we learnt, on arriving at the trysting-place about 7 p.m., that the tug had given us up, and returned to Prince Arthur's Landing, leaving us the pleasant prospect of an additional four hours' row in the dark. However, there was no help for it, so, after landing for a minute to look at a miserable little house in which Lord and Lady Milton had been living, and where Lady Milton had brought into the world the heir of the Fitzwilliams, we buckled to and resumed our voyage. Strange to say, although our Iroquois Indians had already been hard at work for thirteen consecutive hours, they never said a word or showed the slightest ill-temper at this unexpected addition to the day's journey. Luckily their patience did not go without its reward, for in about an hour afterwards our recreant tug was seen running towards us,—the agent at the Hudson Bay post lower down having very properly compelled her to return in search of us. By half-past eleven we again found ourselves on board the *Chicora*, heartily glad of its cosy berths after sixteen hours' voyaging. Nothing worthy of record occurred to us till we reached Chicago at the foot of Lake Michigan."

October 9, 1874.—"My last letter landed us at Chicago after a most prosperous sail down the sea-green waters of Lake Michigan. Immediately on arriving, I was waited upon by all the civic authorities and the members of a Reception Committee

and carried to the Town Hall, where the Mayor addressed me in an oration enumerating the glories of Chicago. To this I replied in suitable terms, and after two or three more addresses from other corporate bodies, and a considerable amount of hand-shaking, I was taken a drive accompanied by a long procession of carriages—this being a favourite mode of doing honour to strangers in this continent. As we passed along the streets at a foot's pace the three gentlemen with me raised a pæan in honour of their city, with which I chimed in to the best of my ability. I learnt afterwards that Lady Dufferin's companions had engaged in a similar patriotic exercise.

"Having traversed two or three considerable thoroughfares remarkable for little else than their pretentious architecture, we reached an enormous area of ruined walls interspersed with the remnants of ruined churches. 'We have had quite a little fire here,' was the proud remark of my associates, evidently as pleased with the bigness of the desolation, as they had been with the piles of façade through which we had just passed. This was not, however, the site of the *great* fire of Chicago, of which we heard so much in England two or three years ago—for the vestiges of that are hidden under the foundations of the new city—but a recent conflagration of a few months back.

"In the evening I had some of the '*sommités*' of the city to dine with me on board my yacht. Amongst these was General Sheridan, who seems quite to coincide with Chesney in thinking that the army of the future should consist of mounted riflemen.

"After dinner we emigrated to an hotel called the Palmer House. It is a new hotel and supposed to be the finest in America; it will hold a thousand people, and is certainly furnished with great splendour, but the best characteristic was the excellence of its bread, butter, and milk. All the waiters are black, and hand

the dishes, lay the knives and forks, pour out the wine, at a concerted signal from their leader, with the elegance, uniformity, and precision of ballet dancers.

"The next day I spent in bed with a very bad nervous headache, a fact which was announced to the public in the morning by a sensational paragraph in all the papers to the following effect:—

"'His Royal Nibs down with a Cholic! Dr. sent for, etc., etc.'

"In fact all the time I was at Chicago the papers teemed with similar elegancies,—the concluding leading article in the leading journal being headed 'Goodbye, old Dufferin.' Another paper devoted two of its columns to a description of an interview between one of its reporters and myself, in which I was described as sitting in a silk dressing-gown, sucking sugar and water through a straw, while I communicated to my interlocutor—whom I always addressed as 'old fellow,'—various State secrets and a minute detail of my private affairs; though it is needless to say the author of the narrative had never been within a hundred yards of me. . . .

"From Chicago we went to Detroit, a most attractive and flourishing town on the river St. Clair, which connects the Upper with the Lower Lakes. Here another public reception had been prepared for me, but arranged with much better taste, and a most picturesque combination of military and civic display, accompanied, however, with the usual speech-making.

"From Detroit I crossed over into my own Canada, and spent the next four or five weeks in going from town to town, and through the various villages and hamlets of Ontario.

"Nothing could have been more brilliant and gratifying than the reception I everywhere met with. The whole population turned out to meet me, and the streets of every little town were gay with triumphal

arches, banners, flags, and every kind of loyal emblem and device. The only drawback to our comfort was the infinite number of addresses which I had to respond to, extempore. Sometimes I had to make as many as ten speeches in a day, and as I knew they were all to appear in the paper and would be closely read throughout the Dominion, I was forced to make the one as different from the other as possible, though always speaking from the same text. With these addresses were mingled luncheons, dinners, evening receptions, fireworks, and picnics, so that at last I scarcely knew whether I was not myself one of the crackers or Catherine-wheels, being let off for the delectation of the people.

"The enclosed specimen of one of my replies will give you a notion of what the whole thing was like, as well as of the ingenuity displayed in designing the triumphal arches under which we passed. But perhaps the prettiest compliment paid me was at a place called Cobourg under the auspices of a joint Canadian and American Committee. In the morning I had been taken a beautiful expedition up Rice Lake,—so called from the wild rice it produces upon which the Indians feed,—eventually arriving at a great iron mine now worked by an American company. This was a most singular sight. Imagine, not a dark shaft descending into invisible space, but an enormous round hole dug out of the earth a good deal bigger than the dome of St. Paul's, at the bottom of which the men at work looked like pigmies, the whole rock upon which they were hammering and picking being solid ore. Previous to our arrival they had bored with a steam drill—which is a most curious instrument—some fifty or sixty 'shots' as they are technically termed, *i.e.* deep holes in the rock, which are then filled with gunpowder, and exploded. All the miners having been retired from the cavity, these blasts were fired off in succession by way of a salute. The honour was not without its dangers, as huge

fragments of rock were tossed into the air a considerable distance beyond us.

"Returning to our steamer we found a long barge lashed alongside completely embowered with branches of fir trees, underneath whose shade was spread a sumptuous luncheon. Cleopatra on the Cydnus could not have held a candle to the sylvan splendours of this *fête*. We did not reach home till nine, and sat down to dinner at ten, and it was here my kind hosts had displayed their greatest ingenuity,—for on the doors of the banquet-room being thrown open, I discovered that the dinner-table had been fashioned to imitate the deck of a vessel, the two central pillars supporting the roof representing the masts, duly fitted with booms, stays, saddles, sheets, and the regular rigging of a ship. The further end or bows were decorated with a bowsprit, while the square stern served as the place of honour into which Lady Dufferin and I were inducted. The flagstaff of the vessel was furnished with an ensign, upon which were inscribed the letters 'FOAM.' After dinner they drank my health, and luckily the president having made an allusion to the ladies as the chief organizers of the banquet, and their wish to detain me, I was enabled to allude very appropriately to Ulysses and the Syrens, etc., etc.

"Another rather striking scene occurred when we visited an Indian settlement. When the Canadian government advances into an Indian territory, its first act is to 'extinguish' the Indian title by making a treaty with the tribe, whom they very properly regard as having a legal interest in the soil. Under these treaties two things are secured to the red man. On the one hand a regular annuity proportioned to the number of the band, and on the other a limited area called a 'reserve,' which if cultivated properly would be more than sufficient to maintain the families located upon it. Their cultivation, however, is very miserable, and even the best of them, I fear, are but an indolent though a docile and well-conducted fraternity.

"As usual they had spread arches along the route by which we were to approach, and had prepared a really very picturesque bower, or rather hall, Indian fashion, for the scene of our 'pow-wow,' or interview with the chiefs. This particular community consisted of the Six Nation Indians, that is to say, the Mohawks, the Onondagas, the Oneidas, the Cayugas, the Senecas, and Tuscaroras. As we neared the entrance of this green tabernacle, between whose leafy arches the sunshine descended in a rain of silver, a number of Indian girls stepped forward and began strewing flowers along our path. We were then conveyed to a daïs at the upper end of the arbour, around whose steps were congregated the various chiefs with the emblems of their authority. An interpreter then stepped forward, while the head of the community addressed me in his mellifluous language. I did my best to make a fit reply, of which I send you a copy.

"Another pretty sight was our arrival at the various little maritime towns on the Lakes or on the St. Lawrence, for here we were invariably met either by a procession of three-storied steamers decorated with flags, flowers, garlands, and greenery, or a mosquito fleet of innumerable little boats with hundreds of little flags and pennons fluttering in the wind. I never have seen anywhere in the world so pretty a display of this kind as we encountered at several places on the St. Lawrence.

"At last we reached Toronto, which we fairly considered as the termination of our progress. Here I was entertained by the local club in a way peculiarly gratifying, for all the chief members of the two great political parties into which the country is divided combined to make me welcome. I have already sent you a copy of the speech I made at the dinner they gave me, and it together with what I have now written will have given you a pretty complete, though I fear wearisome, *aperçu* of our entire journey."

The Toronto speech, to which allusion is made at

the end of this letter, is remarkably characteristic of Lord Dufferin's manner and temperament, reflecting, as do his letters, the vivid impressions made upon him by the aspect of the country that he had traversed, by the signs and tokens of wide prosperity, and of the people's loyalty to the British sovereignty.

"Memory itself scarcely suffices to reflect the shifting vision of mountain, wood and water, inland seas and silver rolling rivers, golden corn lands and busy prosperous towns, through which we have held our way; but though the mind's eye fail ever again to readjust the dazzling panorama, as long as life endures not a single echo of the universal greeting with which we have been welcomed will be hushed within our hearts. . . .

"I cannot help thinking that, quite apart from the advantage to myself, my yearly journeys through the Provinces will have been of public benefit, as exemplifying with what spontaneous, unconcerted unanimity of language the entire Dominion has declared its faith in itself, in its destiny, in its connexion with the mother country, and in the well-ordered freedom of a constitutional monarchy. And, gentlemen, it is this very combination of sentiments which appears to me so wholesome and satisfactory. Words cannot express what pride I feel as an Englishman in the loyalty of Canada to England. . . .

"At this moment not a shilling of British money finds its way to Canada, the interference of the Home government with the domestic affairs of the Dominion has ceased, while the imperial relations between the two countries are regulated by a spirit of such mutual deference, forbearance, and moderation as reflects the greatest credit upon the statesmen of both. Yet so far from this gift of autonomy having brought about any divergence of aim or aspiration on either side, every reader of our annals must be aware that the sentiments of Canada towards Great Britain are infinitely more

friendly now than in those earlier days when the political intercourse of the two countries was disturbed and complicated by an excessive and untoward tutelage; that never was Canada more united than at present in sympathy of purpose and unity of interest with the mother country, more at one with her in social habits and tone of thought, more proud of her claim to share in the heritage of England's past, more ready to accept whatever obligations may be imposed upon her by her partnership in the future fortunes of the empire."

These samples may suffice to illustrate the sentiment and sonorous quality of the speech. In England we are accustomed to a calmer style of oratory, so that the high rhetorical note upon which Lord Dufferin pitched his Toronto address may not altogether accord with the dispassionate feelings of those who read it long afterwards; and there may be a tone of lavish exuberance, a strain of excess, in these felicitations. Nevertheless the speech not only produced a great effect in Canada, but it caught the ear and struck the mind of Englishmen, among whom it was praised by good judges.

"It attracted great attention in Canada, the United States, and in Britain. It fell like a revelation upon the ear of the British people, who were astonished to find themselves in possession of so magnificent a dominion, inhabited by so loyal and prosperous a people. Never before had the grand resources of Canada been so graphically or so truthfully described, never before had the love of its people for the 'Old Flag' been so warmly vindicated. The leading journals of England, headed by the London *Times*, made it a text for able discourses on the value of the Dominion to the Empire, and this single speech doubtless did more to elevate Canada in the European

mind than any utterance or act of all the rulers she had ever welcomed to her shores." *

The London *Spectator* concluded a most eulogistic article with a passage that may be quoted because it goes far to explain and justify the applause, not unmixed with surprise, with which Lord Dufferin's speech was received in two continents. His eloquence unexpectedly placed readers and hearers at a point of view from which it spread out before them a broad landscape, the vision of a world hitherto undiscovered politically. And in the midst of the cautious, sober, circumspect utterances of politicians who weighed their words and reserved their thoughts, it filled them with fresh ideas, and inspirited them with the pride of great possessions.

"We have fallen upon a structure of dry political conscientiousness, where there is a real break of continuity between the aims of the statesmen and the understanding of the people. Politics have lost their glow and spring, while they have gained in purity and disinterestedness. It is to powers such as Lord Dufferin has shown in his brilliant Toronto speech that we look for the restoration of that glow. It is to that mixture of Irish genius and English sagacity, of Irish playfulness and English humour, of Irish buoyancy and English phlegm, of Irish pathos and English pride, and to that confidence in the life of British institutions, and the steadfastness of the British race to which these qualities help to give so brilliant an expression, that we hope to owe a restoration of what we may call the imaginative school of politics, without any loss of that practical conscientiousness and painstaking industry, in the absence of which even the most imaginative statesmen can give us nothing but brilliant and dazzling displays of rhetorical fire." †

* Leggo, "Lord Dufferin's Administration in Canada."
† *The Spectator*, September 26, 1874.

Lord Russell wrote to Lord Dufferin that he could not refrain from expressing to him the delight with which he had read his speech. The Duke of Argyll felt in reading it "a lump in my throat and a fine Argyllshire rain in my eyes." Lord Carnarvon wrote that "nothing could be more graceful, felicitous, or politic. . . . In that speech which you made to the Toronto Club you have added a grace and a felicity of expression which will greatly enhance the wise and conciliatory thoughts which underlie it;" while several other correspondents, including Alfred Tennyson, sent him words of praise that were evidently spontaneous and sincere. From New York he received a letter declaring, on good authority, that his Toronto address had made a great impression throughout the Union. When, some three weeks later, Lord and Lady Dufferin appeared as visitors in the States, he was welcomed at a dinner arranged for him by some of the leading men; and they were everywhere received with marked cordiality.

Here is a lively sketch of his adventures on American soil, taken from a letter to the Duchess of Argyll.

November 18, 1874, *Ottawa.*—"We have just returned here after a visit to New York and Boston. The three weeks' holiday has done us both good, and I can scarcely describe how we appreciated the joy of looking in at the shop windows, seeing the carriages flash by, hearing the thunder of the streets, and having our toes trod on by the passengers on the pavement. After the solitude, desolation, and incompleteness of Ottawa the sights and sounds of city life were very exhilarating.

"Before starting I had received a printed invitation to dinner subscribed by a certain number of distinguished New Yorkers, and this was my first

social gaiety. The entertainment was at Delmonico's, and about thirty people sat down to table. Mr. Astor was in the chair, and Mr. Belmont on the other side. There were no speeches, but the festivity was prolonged, notwithstanding, from half-past seven to eleven o'clock, which I found a little long, in spite of my having a talkative and agreeable neighbour. The next night I attended another dinner, though a smaller one, of the same description, organized by an ex-Consul-General I had known in Syria. Here again I was fortunate in having a lively companion to mitigate the tedium of a feast ungraced by ladies, and too large for general conversation, which is the only thing which renders a man's dinner tolerable. My friend's name was Cox, but he is known throughout the States as 'Sunset Cox,' from a florid description he gave in a book of travels of a sunset seen at Rome. He is a member of Parliament, and noted for his good nature, jokes, and liveliness. Two or three days later I was honoured with a further entertainment in the shape of a breakfast, at which the editors of some of the principal papers assisted, including Mr. Bennett, Mr. Hurlbert, and some others. There were also present Bret Harte, Mr. Hay, and Mr. Tilden, who has just been elected Governor of the State of New York.

"We were very merry, and I really enjoyed myself, for I always think that breakfast is the pleasantest meal of the day. I feel full of hope as I tap my egg; my illusions in regard to my fellow-creatures have re-shaped themselves during the night; and I again believe in the goodness of men and women; but by dinner, nay luncheon time, this frame of mind is shattered and the world is again a blank. Besides these more public festivities, we were invited to several private dinners, all of which were very pleasant, very much like a London dinner, and still more like each other; in fact, monotony is the incubus of this continent, and it especially haunts the social life of New York. . . .

"As you may suppose, we did not neglect the theatres, but we only witnessed one genuine American play. It was very amusing, and the principal character well acted, typifying the native speculator who ruins himself and his friends several times over by his magnificent operations. The first act concluded with the blowing up of a river steamer in which everybody had sunk their fortunes. Next we had a seduction, and the young lady transformed from the needy daughter of a settler into a gaily dressed female log-roller at Washington. She eventually reappears in a ball-dress, shoots her lover in her father's drawing-room, and is then acquitted by a sympathizing jury. The parts of the play which told upon the audience with unfailing success were jocose allusions to the corruption of the Senators and members of Congress! . . . Another thing I did was to attend a democratic public meeting in Tammany Hall. Nothing could be duller than the whole affair. Each orator looked and spoke like the other, and there was not a gleam of fun or humour in a single one of their discourses. The room was an exceedingly bad one for hearing, but the audience was quiet and patient. . . .

"The only piece of Yankee sharpness I observed was the following,—a horse had dropped down dead in the street,—the afternoon was too far advanced to admit of its removal that evening. Five minutes afterwards the carcase was completely plastered over with electioneering placards.

"Though I was rather loath to leave New York I determined to make an effort to see Washington, so starting one night after dinner I arrived there at six the next morning. I had not slept much while the train was in motion, and had arranged to have a couple of hours' snooze in my berth at the station, but Sir Edward Thornton had good-naturedly come down to meet me, so I was forced to tumble out and go with him to his house. After a cup of tea

he took me all over the new embassy, which has just been built under his superintendence. It is a fine house in a good situation, and the accommodation arranged with great judgment. We then returned to breakfast and proceeded to see the sights, the Capitol, the Supreme Court, the Library, etc. Architecturally the Capitol is full of faults, but its mass, its material, and its situation are imposing, and the marble façades of the two wings are very beautiful; but the cupola is imposed upon a base that spreads too far on either side, so that it looks like a dish-cover on a dining-table. I had an interview with Mr. Fish, the Secretary of State, who was civil enough, and I then paid my respects to the President, who received me with great courtesy, and was far more ready to talk than I had been led to expect. We then took a ride, and by three o'clock in the afternoon I was on my way to Baltimore.

"At Baltimore I was to have been invited to dinner, but by some misunderstanding the plan miscarried, and so I missed seeing anything of Baltimore society, which I am told is remarkably pleasant, with a peculiar 'cachet' of its own. Instead I had to content myself with the play, which was interesting, as we were given a drama laid during the time of the recent American War, with Stonewall Jackson and Federal and Confederate officers for the chief performers. The next morning I returned to New York.

"The only other remarkable thing I saw there was the Normal school, a magnificent institution. We went to the place at a little before nine o'clock in the morning in order to see the pupils assemble. We were taken into a very large room with galleries running round it,—and placed upon a daïs. A little bell was rung, a piano struck up, and in three minutes and a half 1100 young women between 14 and 19 or 20 had taken their seats at their desks. . . .

"We then repaired to a 'Common' school.

There was nothing very special in the boys' and girls' classes, but the 'Infant' department was wonderfully amusing. As at the former place we were taken into a big room, and placed upon an estrade; again the bell was rung, the piano struck up, and the little brats began to enter; but instead of advancing rapidly, their object seemed to be to move as slowly as possible, and to stick as close upon one another's heels as they could manage, conducting their performances with the most ludicrous gravity. When at last they were all seated—and there must have been six or seven hundred of them present—a wooden wall, or rather a sliding partition at the further end of the room, was drawn aside, and to our great surprise another host of five or six hundred urchins, all of them being between four and seven, was revealed, seated upon benches that ascended to the ceiling. The silence was so profound that you might have heard a pin drop. Suddenly the teacher made some sign, and then 1400 creatures, who had kept their eyes intently fixed upon hers, at once made a simultaneous *face;* the effect was too ludicrous. You did not exactly know what had happened, but it felt as though there had been a flash of summer lightning. At another sign they began clapping their cheeks and then their hands,—you might have heard the noise a mile off—while the crowded area looked like a rippling ocean. Lastly, they sang 'Twinkle, Twinkle, little Star,' snapping their fingers during the chorus, until you thought you saw the golden hosts of heaven shaking in the firmament.

"This concluded our New York sight-seeing, although I ought to have mentioned going to the races, which were not interesting, and a visit we paid to Washington Irving's little cottage on the banks of the Hudson.

"In returning we went round by Boston. Luckily I arrived on the monthly Saturday on which the literary world of New England dine together at a

club. Longfellow was my host, and we sat down at half-past two in the afternoon. I found myself between Longfellow and Wendell Holmes, and opposite to Lowell, Emerson, and the two Danas. It was very pleasant, and we did not break up until half-past seven. A visit to Bunker's Hill, and a drive to the college and round the environs completed our Boston dissipations. The railway journey home to Montreal led through the Green Mountains, and was very pretty. . . .

"I am reading Charles Greville's book. It is wonderfully interesting, but I don't think anybody has a right to publish to the world such private matters as those he has recorded: there are certain physical and mental infirmities common to humanity, which should be allowed to remain unknown, and it was certainly a scandalous thing of him sending for George the Fourth's servant and cross-examining him about his master's private habits, with a view to proclaiming them in a book. A more masculine nature, moreover, would have been more tender and delicate in the portraiture of the women of his story.

"Yesterday I was playing after sunset at lawn-tennis in my shirt-sleeves! Pretty well for the middle of a Canadian November, but to-day the snow has fallen and our winter has begun. Like the bears we also shall hybernate, and it will be many a week therefore before any event is likely to justify me in troubling you with another letter."

Such a friendly reception on republican territory of the Canadian Governor General had an indubitable value; and the pleasant hospitality of the Americans was a genuine tribute to Lord Dufferin's social and literary reputation. Yet it is no strange thing to a shrewd Irishman that festive cordiality in private intercourse may co-exist with a very different temper in the sphere of political dealings; and with the United

States there was serious business just then on hand. When in 1874 Lord Carnarvon had assumed charge of the British Colonial Office, Lord Dufferin wrote to him that although he had every reason for extremely regretting the withdrawal of Lord Kimberley, he reckoned it a most fortunate chance that had replaced the outgoing Secretary by so old a personal friend. Two topics only, he went on to say, required at that moment the particular attention of the Colonial Office. One was the proposed substitution of a Reciprocity treaty with the United States for Canada's Fishery claims. Secondly came the grievances of British Columbia in regard to the non-fulfilment of the agreement to construct the Pacific Railway.

Some account of the Reciprocity question, although the negociations failed eventually, may still be interesting, so far as they illustrate the political and commercial difficulties that were found inseparable from a project of establishing freedom of trade in the commodities which two adjacent countries might naturally exchange. And a few preliminary observations on the history of treaty-making between the British and North American governments may not be out of place.

The relations between Canada and the United States have inevitably been affected, though in a rapidly diminishing degree, by the events and causes which led, in the eighteenth century, to the disruption and division of the vast territories possessed by the English-speaking population of North America. The tradition of jealousy and hostilities between those who adhered to the English Crown, and those who violently broke off from the sovereignty, had been prolonged by the war of 1812–14, in which the Canadians successfully resisted incursions from the

States. Its gradual disappearance in the course of succeeding years was retarded by disputes over boundaries and limits, on land and sea, which had been left, like ragged edges on a cloth that had been torn asunder, to be patched up by negociators and arbitrators in quieter times. The British government, incessantly occupied by foreign affairs all the world over, and compelled to take a comprehensive view of its external policy, has naturally been always desirous of conciliating a Republic whose weight in the balance of the world's Great Powers is increasing so rapidly; and British statesmen have consequently found it necessary to appeal to the loyalty of Canada for concessions in questions which concerned the peace of the whole empire. It has been no less natural that these concessions should have been sometimes acquiesced in reluctantly; not without protest against the subordination of the interests of the Colony to Imperial exigencies. All nations are peculiarly sensitive in regard to their frontiers, and the amputation of territory by demarcation of fresh boundaries may heal old sores, but for the moment it is a painful process. By the treaty signed at Versailles in 1783, England made over to the United States certain extensive regions to which Canada had some claim. The Ashburton treaty of 1842 ratified a later cession; another tract of land was awarded in 1846; and in 1871 the island of San Juan was transferred to the United States under the arbitration of the German emperor. Lastly, two years before Lord Dufferin took office, the Washington treaty between Great Britain and the United States had been concluded upon terms and in circumstances that to some extent disappointed the Dominion government.

In 1854 a convention had been settled that established free trade in certain important products between the two adjacent countries; but in 1865 the resentment felt by the people of the United States at the sympathy for secession that had been shown in England during the war, and at some depredations across the border made by refugee Southerners in Canada, provoked the United States government to exercise their right of terminating this arrangement; nor could they afterwards be induced to revive it. Moreover, when, under the Washington Treaty of 1871, the question of the indemnity payable by Great Britain for damages done by the *Alabama* cruiser was referred to arbitration, it was thought in Canada that the anxiety of our ministry to finish this business amicably had led them to compound too easily with the United States on some disputed colonial claims. An important controversy, of long standing, regarding the respective fishery rights of Canada and the United States on their eastern coasts, had been referred to a special commission for adjudgment of the compensation due to Canada. But the sum awarded might be inadequate, for the Canadians had not been lucky in their dealings with the United States; so the Dominion ministry, being Free Traders, decidedly preferred making fresh overtures for the negociation of a new Reciprocity treaty with the United States which might cover and dispose of all outstanding claims. And since they had information leading them to believe that these overtures would be entertained, they asked for and obtained from the British government instructions to the British ambassador at Washington to bring the proposal before the United States government, with the assistance of a representative from Canada; on the understanding that the

step was taken entirely at the instance and on the responsibility of the Colony.

When the negociators met at Washington, there ensued a long and complicated discussion, not always conducted in a friendly spirit, and Lord Dufferin had some trouble in his endeavours to advise and assist the Canadians in a business which touched commercial interests in Great Britain as well as in America. At Chicago he had been invited to visit the Board of Trade, where he understood that some of the leading commercial men would be introduced to him. He found "an enormous chamber crammed full of people, who, I was told, would feel very much aggrieved unless I made them a speech on Free Trade;" and in a summary of his impromptu oration that was telegraphed to England from New York, he found himself reported as saying that Great Britain had been pressing for the treaty, whereas the British ministry had only moved on the distinct understanding that Canada was responsible for the initiative. Then the British press discerned in the overture an inclination of Canada toward absorption in the United States; a construction that was exceedingly disagreeable to the Dominion, and which Lord Dufferin, writing to Lord Carnarvon, denounced as the sheerest nonsense, observing that a ministry suspected of tendencies toward annexation, or even to independence, would not live a day in Canada. He referred in this letter to articles against himself written in London newspapers on the strength of the incorrect rumours of his Chicago speech that went home, where he was also credited with some rather maladroit diplomacy that had been exhibited by inexperienced Canadian representatives in dealing with the remarkably acute bargainers at Washington. A

colonial Governor, Lord Dufferin remarked, is "like a man riding two horses at once in a circus. No matter how completely he may have one of them under control, the other will be sure to play him some unhandsome trick by flying off at a tangent on the scare or some false rumour or extraneous hallucination."

Moreover, while our ambassador at Washington was exerting himself in Canadian interests, the Dominion ministry were doubting whether their case was safe in his hands. Nor was there always entire concordance at Washington between the Canadian and the British negociators as to manners and methods of diplomacy. And on the subject of Free Trade with the United States it soon appeared that even in Canada public opinion was not unanimous; for although the Dominion ministry were confident of carrying a Free Trade measure by a large majority, the manufacturers looked coldly on a project that would expose their nascent industries to competition with the powerful capital and enterprise of the United States. Also, there was a strong party in the States favouring the policy of protection,* supported by a lingering resentment against Great Britain and Canada on account of their attitude during the war of Secession, and encouraged by the belief that a Reciprocity treaty was so essential

* "'What possible good,' said a United States statesman, 'can we get from a treaty with Canada? Under the last treaty we took from you everything you had to sell, and you took nothing from us.' My reply was to show from official returns, and beyond the shadow of a doubt, that from 1820 to 1854 the British provinces had bought from the United States merchandise and produce of over 150 millions of dollars in excess of what the United States had bought from them, or that there was always a large annual balance of trade against Canada. The impression in the United States was that traffic with Canada was utterly unprofitable to the Republic" (Speech at Ottawa by Hon. George Browne).

to the prosperity of Canada that to stand out against it would tend to weaken her political independence. During the earlier part of the proceedings at Washington our Colonial Office appears to have indulged the hope of success in obtaining a fresh treaty. But as the executive government of the United States had their own difficulties with the Senate, the language of the Secretary (Mr. Fish) became more and more reserved, and tinged with a certain asperity in personal discussions. The proposal in the draft treaty, that the waterway of the St. Lawrence should be improved, and that the navigation of the lakes and the connecting canals should be thrown open on equal terms to both countries, was opposed on the ground that it would give Canadian shipping an advantage in the carrying trade. Upon these points and on the clauses touching the coasting trade there was sharp controversy, particularly regarding the definition and clear allotment of international partnership in water property and usage, which provide a naturally fluid and shifting ground of debate.

After many conferences between Mr. Fish on the one side and the British and Canadian negociators on the other, in which the United States Secretary displayed little desire to accommodate differences, or to find a way toward amicable conclusions, they at length settled a draft treaty which was submitted to the Senate at Washington. This was in June 1875; but the Senate postponed consideration of the proposals until the December session, when they decided almost unanimously that the treaty's ratification would be inexpedient. So ended a long and intricate negociation, with the result of convincing those who initiated it that there had been from the first no serious intention on the part of the United States to concede any reciprocal

terms that Canada could accept. In the Canadian Parliament it produced some cavils on the whole business, which had been entered upon with sanguine anticipations among those who promoted it, and which closed with a somewhat abrupt and disappointing termination. It is certainly unfortunate that in negociating Canada's conventions with the United States—almost the only sovereign right that is in practice still exercised—the intervention of Great Britain should have frequently operated rather to strain than to strengthen the single important tie that still binds the colony to the metropolitan State.

When, in 1875, the Town Council of Quebec began to demolish the old town walls, Lord Dufferin interposed with an effectual protest.

"Quebec" (he said in a speech to the citizens) "is the one city on this continent which preserves the romantic characteristics of its early origin, a city whose picturesque architecture and war-scathed environments present a spectacle unlike any other which is to be found between Cape Horn and the North Pole."

It is a singular fact, if Lord Dufferin's statement is accurate, that nowhere else in South or North America should the old stone ramparts of any town have been preserved; but at any rate the Governor General's appeal to the people of Quebec, put in this striking way, was successful. Instead of demolishing the walls, the Town Council made a liberal grant of money toward their maintenance and restoration: they were pierced by gates, flanked with ornamental towers, and a pathway upon them was carried round the whole *enceinte*. The Canadian government added a subsidy; and Lord Dufferin spared no exertions to obtain assistance from England, representing that on grounds

of political expediency, as well as of historic interest, the old French capital of the Dominion the scene of a famous military exploit had claims upon the generosity of the nation. The British House of Commons readily contributed; and Her Majesty the Queen presented her good city of Quebec with one of the new gateways, in memory of her father, the Duke of Kent, who resided for some years in Canada.

A singular question that came before Lord Dufferin in 1874 may be worth mentioning briefly, as an example of the rough, haphazard treatment of outlying landed property that formerly prevailed, and that has more than once bequeathed awkward problems for the solution of later administrations.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century a lottery was held in London for the purpose of disposing of a large portion of Prince Edward's Island in lots. Certain conditions connected with each lot were not always fulfilled by the purchasers, who seem to have treated negligently properties which they had got very easily. The conditions of settlement were, in fact, disregarded both by owners and tenants; but the great evil in the eyes of the islanders was that of absentee proprietorship. Most of the colonists held their farms as tenants of landlords who lived in England and knew little of Prince Edward's Island; the rents were not paid, were sometimes unpayable; so that, after spending the best part of his life in trying to improve a piece of land, a tenant might be threatened with ejection for arrears. Out of this state of things arose quarrels and confusion, until after various attempts to adjust the grievances of the tenants and the rights of the landlords, a Royal Commission was appointed in 1860

to investigate the whole matter. Their report, published in 1861, strongly condemned the way in which the land had been originally granted away, and recommended as the only just and satisfactory solution the application of the Land Purchase Act to all the great absentee holdings.

The Commissioners recommended that the Home government should guarantee a loan of £100,000 for buying up the estates of absentee proprietors; but the guarantee was refused; and the agitation, with all the acrimony of agrarian disputes, went on until in 1874 Lord Dufferin confirmed an act of the Canadian Legislature, which enforced compulsory purchase, at prices to be fixed by three Commissioners. Mr. Hugh Childers was their chairman, and a final settlement was thus concluded in 1875.

On May 11, 1875, Lord and Lady Dufferin left Ottawa for a short holiday in England and Ireland. They were warmly received on their arrival in London; and the Canada Club invited Lord Dufferin to a banquet, where Canadians and Englishmen of distinction met to honour and acknowledge the services of a Governor General who by his acts and words had already done much to inspirit and fortify on both sides of the Atlantic the common feeling of Imperial unity.

"If" (Lord Dufferin said in the course of his speech) "there is one especial message which a person in my situation is bound to transmit from the Canadian to the English people, it is this—that they desire to maintain intact and unimpaired their connexion with this country, that they cherish an ineradicable conviction of the value of the political system under which they live, and are determined to preserve uncontaminated all the traditional characteristics of England's prosperous policy."

At Clandeboye, where they were received by a concourse of welcomers and a profusion of banners, an address was presented by the tenantry, to which Lord Dufferin replied—

"Perhaps it would not be inappropriate to the present occasion that I should tell you that amongst the many pleasures I have had in administering the affairs of Canada's government, and in visiting its various districts, few have been greater than that which I have experienced from meeting in almost every part of the country Irishmen from different parts of Ireland, all of them united by common sympathy of loyalty to the Queen, all of them animated by a spirit of happiness and contentment, and all of them engaged in a prosperous and fortunate career."

Lord and Lady Dufferin were again at Ottawa by October. A Canadian winter, like a summer in India, is the season of general immobility, suspending travel; when men work at home, fall back on their resources for occupation, or take stock of what may have been accomplished.

Lord Dufferin writes to Lady Dorothy Nevill—

December 1875.—"We are in the midst of our winter, with the thermometer 20° below zero, and everything bound in ice, but we regard this as a great comfort instead of a hardship,—the intermediate period of slush between autumn and the *bonâ fide* cold weather being the really intolerable time. . . .

"My principal indoors amusements are sketching and painting. I have set seriously to work to acquire something of an artist's touch both with pencil and brush, for I know I have an eye both for form and colour, and if I can once master the mechanical facility, I am in hopes to throw off sketches of

scenes and people sufficiently like to be pleasant reminiscences. . . . I am determined seriously to devote as much of my spare time to drawing as I possibly can,—to make it in fact the solace of my old age. In three years' time I ought I think to become a respectable amateur."

June 1876.—"You will have seen that they have made me a G.C.M.G. This will be the third star and ribband I have got before reaching fifty,—I who have done so little to deserve any one of them,—while many a far better fellow has slaved in his country's service without getting a tithe of the recognition it has been my luck to receive. In one respect alone, but only in one, do I feel I have earned a right to anything, namely by having a very sincere desire to do my duty, and feeling a most honest love for dear old England."

Section III.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Meanwhile, the delay in the construction, according to agreement, of the Pacific Railway had been producing irritation and disappointment. The Dominion government stood pledged to begin the work in two years and complete it in ten; and this was the material consideration upon which British Columbia had joined the Confederation in 1871, but in the next four years nothing beyond surveys had been done. When Mr. Mackenzie succeeded to the Canadian premiership, the Columbians became uneasy as to the security of their guarantee, the more so because Mr. Mackenzie, before taking office, had made a statement of his railway policy which was not calculated to remove their misgivings. The new ministry found themselves compelled, by the demonstrations of impatience in

British Columbia, to take up the whole question afresh, and it soon appeared that a fulfilment of the pledge to complete the through line to the Pacific shores within the period originally specified, was physically impossible. Mr. Mackenzie therefore modified the original scheme, and proposed to utilize, instead of a continuous line of railway, the long extents of water communications provided by the rivers; the land portage between the chain of navigable streams and lakes being supplied by sections of railway, so laid that they might eventually be linked up into a complete system. To this somewhat dilatory alternative the Columbians naturally demurred. Their province then had a white population of less than 9000, to almost all of whom the railway works and the prospect of communication with the eastern provinces would bring certain and considerable profit. They appealed, by delegation, to the Colonial Office; and in June 1874 Lord Carnarvon's offer to fix the terms that in his opinion might be reasonably offered to Columbia, was accepted. Unluckily his decision was varied in some particulars by the Bill which the Dominion ministry introduced to give it legislative sanction; and the dispute was revived in full force by a formal remonstrance from British Columbia against any breach of the "Carnarvon terms." The Dominion ministry had in fact pledged themselves, by original miscalculations of time and cost, to an undertaking that involved onerous and extravagant outlay upon an ill-drawn scheme; and in their attempts to escape from this predicament some ambiguous language suggested a suspicion that they were backing out of a formal bargain. But the British Columbians were insisting, beyond reason, on specific performance; and threatening to withdraw from the

Confederation if the terms were evaded. Sharp language and recriminations were flying about, and Lord Dufferin's position as moderator between two angry and distrustful parties was by no means pleasant. Lord Carnarvon's arbitration, proffered in good will and good faith, had brought the Colonial Office within range of the cross-firing, which might be diverted from the Canadian ministry by spirited protest against dictation from England. Some hasty remarks made in this tone by Mr. Mackenzie obliged Lord Dufferin to remind him that Lord Carnarvon—

"is the official representative and spokesman of the Power upon whom Canada is dependent for her nationality, her autonomy, and her protection both by sea and by land, and for whose sake, though this view of the case seems seldom to be considered on this side of the Atlantic, England is content to run perpetual risks, and to submit to what many consider humiliating, and all admit to be mortifying sacrifices. It is true the mother country is amply repaid by seeing such a community as that of the Dominion embarked in so prosperous a career, and upholding in this continent the credit of her own political traditions."

All this incessant friction rendered disputants on both sides hot, sore, and intemperate; and the correspondence proves that the Governor General, by interviews, innumerable letters of advice and warning, by personal influence and authoritative intimations, spared no pains in pouring oil on troubled waters.

An extract from one of his letters to the Canadian premier gives his view of the situation—

"In conclusion, allow me to entreat you in the most earnest language to take any reasonable risk

for the sake of preserving intact the Confederation of Canada. Although, perhaps, from some points of view, her union with British Columbia may have been premature, the disintegration of the Dominion could not fail to be regarded, whether justly or unjustly, as the result of unsuccessful statesmanship, and as the failure of the political party under whose auspices such a catastrophe occurred. Very unfairly, perhaps, it will not be the people who lit the torch, but those who held it whose fingers will be burnt. The province itself is well worth retaining, and will eventually prove a most desirable accession to our strength and importance. Her resources will be found to be very considerable when once there is a population to develope them. The exclusion of Canada from the western seaboard, and from all trade with the Pacific ports, would ere long be felt as a most undesirable restriction, and so considerable a reduction of her 'imperium' would infallibly damage her prestige and sensibly wound the honest pride of every individual citizen."

The Provincial government of British Columbia was now in open conflict with the Dominion government, rejecting proposals and reiterating demands. Orders in Council and Minutes were exchanged between the two governments like salvos from hostile batteries; until it became clear to Lord Dufferin that his presence in British Columbia, to inquire personally into local details, and to try the effect of meeting and speaking with the local leaders, would be the best service he could render to all parties.

On July 31, 1876, therefore, Lord and Lady Dufferin left Ottawa for British Columbia *viâ* Chicago and San Francisco, took ship in a British war-vessel, and landed at Esquimault, the naval station close to Victoria on Vancouver Island, in the middle of August. A grand

procession for their entry into the Columbian capital had been organized; but at one point in the route some extreme malcontents had set up an arch bearing the inscription—"The Carnarvon Terms or Separation." "Change one letter in the last word, making it Reparation, and I will pass under it, otherwise not," said the Governor General; and as the change was not made he went round the arch. Separatist demonstrations, though not yet serious, were evidently in the air; for the isolation of Columbia, peopled mainly by direct emigration from England, had kept this remote province dissociated from the rest of the Dominion, and very sensitive in regard to the action of the government at Ottawa. The press of San Francisco, where the prospect of a rival Canadian port, with a Canadian railway from the Atlantic, was not attractive, lent a hand toward stirring up strife. Addresses, memorials, demands by deputations for interviews, poured in upon the Governor General.

"For the next week" (he wrote to Lord Carnarvon) "I was occupied in receiving visits from every soul in the place. I began at nine o'clock in the morning, and never left my room till seven in the evening—the whole intermediate ten hours being passed in listening to the same stories, to abuse of Canada and the Canadian premiers, and the absolute necessity of bringing the Pacific Railway *viâ* Bute inlet to Esquimault, the project which had been defeated in the Canadian Parliament when Mr. Mackenzie endeavoured to legislate for it."

Lord Dufferin, besieged and encompassed, made the tactical dispositions that he had often found effective in colonial campaigns. "Receptions and At Homes, dinner-parties and regattas, garden-parties and balls, afforded ample opportunities of meeting

all grades of society and proffering to each its appropriate meed of recognition." After ten agitated days and nights the party found a refuge on board their vessel from social and political functions, explored the coast, examined inlets and possible locations for the railway terminus, made excursions inland, received Indian and Chinese addresses, and returned to Victoria. Here Lord Dufferin delivered, before his departure, a speech in which he recapitulated all the points in dispute, discussed the arguments on each side, the misstatements and miscalculations, the needs and grievances, defended the Dominion government and the Colonial Secretary, admonished Columbia against insistence upon impracticable claims, and warned the Victorians that by an open quarrel with Canada their city might be left out of the railway system, which would find its terminus elsewhere. The "Great Columbian speech," as it is known in the annals of Lord Dufferin's administration, was certainly a most comprehensive and elaborate review, remarkable for the discretion of its tone and the masterly survey of intricate questions. As usual with Lord Dufferin, it was illustrated by passages that show an intense delight in picturesque scenery—

"I may frankly tell you that I think British Columbia a glorious province—a province which Canada should be proud to possess, and whose association with the Dominion she ought to regard as the crowning triumph of federation. Such a spectacle as its coast-line presents is not to be paralleled in any country in the world. Day after day, for a whole week, in a vessel of nearly 2000 tons, we threaded an interminable labyrinth of watery lanes and reaches that wound endlessly in and out of a network of islands, promontories, and peninsulas for thousands of miles, unruffled by the slightest swell from the

adjoining ocean, and presenting at every turn an ever-shifting combination of rock, verdure, forest, glacier, and snow-capped mountains of unrivalled grandeur and beauty. When it is remembered that this wonderful system of navigation—equally well adapted to the largest line of battleship and the frailest canoe—fringes the entire seaboard of your province, and communicates at points sometimes more than a hundred miles from the coast with a multitude of valleys stretching eastward into the interior, at the same time that it is furnished with innumerable harbours on either hand, one is lost in admiration at the facilities for inter-communication which are thus provided for the future inhabitants of this wonderful region."

These *impressions de voyage*, however, were merely illustrations bound up with the substantial text of the discourse. Although Lord Dufferin wrote afterwards of his performance as bearing the traces of the haste and bustle in the midst of which he had conceived it, without time for adequate preparation, it was certainly an important and persuasive review of an entangled controversy—an effective peroration that summed up and concluded the interminable series of debates which, in one form or another, had been carried on during his whole visit to Victoria. It went far toward satisfying those whom he termed "the impulsive portion of the Victorian citizens;" it removed several mischievous delusions; and perceptibly damped the ardour and lowered the tone of those who had thought it worth while to brandish the flag of Separation. Moderate men, who desired some practical composition with Canada, recovered their influence; and, as Lord Dufferin wrote afterwards—

"even those to whom parts of the speech would naturally be most distasteful, were convinced that it

emanated from a person who fully sympathized with their annoyances and disappointments, who was anxious to tell them the exact truth so far as he was able, and who had no dearer object at heart than to forward by every means within his power the reconciliation of the province with the Dominion, under circumstances which should be as favourable as possible to their interests and wishes."

Next day Lord Dufferin set out on his return journey to Ottawa, where he drafted a report of all his proceedings in a despatch to the Colonial Office which covers one hundred and eighty-four pages of manuscript, but which does not appear to have been issued. The speeches, discussions, private and public correspondence, the interviews, debates, and conferences, the travel by sea and land, remain as a monumental record of Lord Dufferin's indefatigable industry, and of the pains and perils that attended the gestation of the Canadian Pacific Railway. They furnish a notable example of the experiences that test the patience, dexterity, and resourcefulness of a Governor General who is charged with the duty of intercepting collisions, softening down animosities, and generally of bringing a loose confederation of rough-hewn provinces to a sense of their common ends and reciprocal interests.

But although Lord Dufferin's exertions prevented an open rupture between British Columbia and the Dominion, and smoothed the way toward reasonable compromise, yet various obstacles, financial and administrative, retarded for some years to come the actual progress of the undertaking. It was not until 1881 that, after much parliamentary obstruction and sharp debating, the contract for the making of the Pacific Railway was definitely sanctioned by an Act

of the Canadian Legislature. Nor was the line opened to Vancouver City * on the Pacific coast until 1887—six years beyond the time originally fixed, but five years in advance of the date on which the charter of the new Company required the work to be completed.

The establishment of a Supreme Court of judicature for the Dominion had been long expected. It was not accomplished without much active exercise by Lord Dufferin of his vocation as intermediary between the Colony and the Crown. The Canadians desired to annul the right of appeal to any English Court from its decisions; the legal authorities in England demurred to any infringement of the established jurisdiction. In the debate over the Bill in the Canadian Parliament, Sir John Macdonald had interposed with the objection that the cutting off of appeals to an English court would be a first step toward the separation of the Dominion from the mother country. Lord Dufferin, writing to the Colonial Secretary on this subject, took another view—

November 11, 1875.—"I do not myself" (he said) "attach weight to this consideration. The ties between the Dominion and Great Britain are of a very different nature, and the more freely and independently the machinery of our government here can be made to act, the less danger of friction or collision. The intervention of the Privy Council in the Guibord case has had a tendency rather to exasperate the French population against England than to cement the connexion, and many contingencies can be conceived of a similar nature."

The remarkable case to which reference is here

* It should be remembered that Vancouver City is not on Vancouver Island, but on the mainland.

made exemplifies the religious temperature then prevailing, and also Lord Dufferin's methods in playing his usual part of peace-maker.

Mr. Joseph Guibord, a Roman Catholic, had been excommunicated for joining a Liberal Catholic association. He died in November 1869, but the rites of the Church were refused. Guibord had bought a burial lot in a cemetery at Montreal; and on his death two friends brought a suit to establish civil rights of interment therein, the body being meanwhile deposited in the vaults of the Protestant graveyard. After five years' litigation the Privy Council affirmed Guibord's right to be buried in his own land, and his body was taken to the Roman Catholic cemetery. There was fierce resistance from a crowd of French Roman Catholics, and the Church dignitaries were deprecating violence in language that was distinctly inflammatory. The Canadian ministers hesitated about employing force, until Lord Dufferin, to whom such emergencies were no great novelty, pressed them to interfere effectively.

"Having witnessed the Belfast riots, where a hundred people were shot and the town in possession of two frantic mobs for a whole week, I am keenly alive to the danger with which this affair is pregnant. The affair discloses a lamentable blot in our constitution as well as in our social organization. There is absolutely no force whatsoever behind the Law. The Militia, at all times a bad instrument for dealing with the populace, are themselves a mob inspired by the same fanatical passions as the rest of the people. What we want is a body like the Irish Constabulary living in barracks secluded from all contact with the population, and disciplined and controlled by the central and not by the subordinate authority."

The whole volunteer force in Montreal and all

the police escorted Guibord to his grave; but the fermentation was serious; and the ecclesiastics were loud in their protests.

"Luckily" (Lord Dufferin wrote) "I contrived completely to change their tone by sending my secretary down to Montreal to tell them that I had seen the Queen at Inverary, and that Her Majesty had evinced the greatest concern in regard to the attitude of her French subjects in Montreal, that while she regretted that anything should have occurred to cause them anxiety or displeasure, she was quite sure she could rely upon their loyalty and the loyalty of those to whom they looked for guidance to prevent so disgraceful an occurrence as insurrection against the law, etc., etc. On hearing this they all set to work to keep things quiet. One old curé positively shed tears when he received the message, and the result was that, in obedience to the commands of their priests, not a Catholic put his nose out of his door on the day of the burial. Nevertheless we had out all the force at our disposal, by way of precaution, but it only amounted to nine hundred men, a body amply sufficient to cause a good many deaths, but neither numerous nor disciplined enough to prevent an outbreak had it been seriously determined upon."

Returning to the question of appellate jurisdiction, Lord Dufferin's views were adopted by the Colonial Office, and the Crown lawyers were induced to waive their objections. The clause in the Act providing that no appeal lie from any judgment of the Supreme Court to a Court of appeal established by the British Parliament, was ultimately accepted by the Home government, though it left untouched Her Majesty's prerogative to admit appeals upon the advice of her Privy Council.

From the end of 1876 no question of capital importance engaged Lord Dufferin's attention, so that he was comparatively free to continue his expeditions into the outlying parts of his jurisdiction. From travel he never rested willingly, nor did any Governor General know better the art of turning these official visitations to practical advantage.

In January 1877, Lord and Lady Dufferin again visited Toronto, where Lord Dufferin was entertained at dinner by the National club and the Toronto club, and made speeches on both occasions. Before returning to Ottawa he visited the International Exhibition at Philadelphia. At the end of July Lord and Lady Dufferin left for a visit to Manitoba and the West. They had a cordial reception at Winnipeg, and made excursions in the neighbourhood before starting on a tour through the western Provinces.

The rapid extension, throughout the habitable earth, of safe and easy communications, may be taken to be one capital feature of modern civilization, which has powerfully promoted the distribution of industry, the mingling of races and religions, and the interfusion of nationalities. No country exhibits a more striking example than Canada of a population collected from the uttermost parts of the world. On the west coast of Lake Winnipeg Lord Dufferin found a colony of Icelanders, who greeted him as an old friend of their people, and whom he welcomed to Canada in a speech full of characteristic allusions to their history and traditions.

"The change now taking place in your fortunes is the very converse and opposite of that which befell your forefathers. They fled from their pleasant homes and golden cornfields into a howling wilderness of storm and darkness, ice and lava, but you I am

welcoming to the healthiest climate on the continent, and to a soil of unexampled fertility, which a little honest industry on your part will soon turn into a garden of plenty. Nor do we forget that no race has a better right to come amongst us than yourselves, for it is probably to the hardihood of the Icelandic navigators that the world is indebted for the discovery of this continent. Had not Columbus visited your island, and discovered in your records a practical and absolute confirmation of his own brilliant speculations in regard to the existence of a western land, it is possible he might never have had the enterprise to tempt the unknown Atlantic."

From the Icelanders to the Menonite Russians the change of origin, language, and religion is significant enough. Sectarian persecution, and the desire to escape military conscription, had brought these emigrants from South Russia to Canada, where the government made them free grants of land and guaranteed to them entire religious liberty.

"You have left your own land" (said Lord Dufferin to them) "in obedience to a conscientious scruple, nor will you have been the first to cross the Atlantic under the pressure of a similar exigency. In doing so you must have made great sacrifices, broken with many tender associations, and overthrown the settled purposes of your former peacefully ordered lives; but the very fact of your having manfully faced the uncertainties and risks of so distant an emigration rather than surrender your religious convictions in regard to the unlawfulness of warfare, proves you to be well worthy of our respect, confidence, and esteem.

"Here also" (he added) "we invite you to a war of ambition, for we intend to annex territory; but neither blazing villages nor devastated fields will mark our ruthless track; our battalions will march

across the illimitable plains which stretch before us as sunshine steals athwart the ocean; the rolling prairie will blossom in our wake, and corn and peace and plenty will spring where we have trod."

On his return to Winnipeg Lord Dufferin made his Manitoba speech, describing the country that he had seen, the people he had met, and enlarging on the general content and prosperity that he had found everywhere. He spoke of the Menonite and Icelandic settlers, of the French half-breeds, and of the Indian tribes, for whose welfare and protection he had always shown earnest solicitude.

"Happily in no part of Her Majesty's dominions are the relations existing between the white settler and the original natives and masters of the land so well understood or so generously and humanely interpreted as in Canada, and, as a consequence, instead of being a cause of anxiety and disturbance, the Indian tribes of the Dominion are regarded as a valuable adjunct to our strength and industry. Wherever I have gone in the province, and since I have been here I have travelled nearly a thousand miles within your borders, I have found the Indians upon their several reserves—pretermitting a few petty grievances of a local character they thought themselves justified in preferring—contented and satisfied, upon the most friendly terms with their white neighbours, and implicitly confiding in the good faith and paternal solicitude of the government. . . .

"In close proximity to Winnipeg two other communities, the Menonites and Icelanders, starting from opposite ends of Europe, without either concert or communication, have sought fresh homes within our territory, the one of Russian extraction though of German race, the other bred amid the snows and ashes of an Arctic volcano."

Nor can any one follow his journey or read his speeches without realizing the interest, pride, and curiosity which a Governor General with vivid imagination must have felt in traversing a region where emigrants from such distant countries are found increasing and prospering side by side with indigenous tribes of half-tamed savages. The influence of free institutions, just laws, and the dominant type of British civilization was blending the language, manners, and ideas of all these groups into unity; so that a population with extraordinary diversity of origin was rapidly melting into one name and people.

At the beginning of October Lord Dufferin returned to Ottawa.

He writes to Lady Dorothy Nevill—

October 1, 1877.—"For the last eight weeks I have been perpetually on the move, and almost continually under canvas wandering up and down through the trackless prairies of Manitoba and down the roaring rapids of the Winnipeg. We have travelled about a thousand miles in the province, a good deal of the way on horseback, some distance in canoes, and for a day or two on board a steamer. Our tent life was very agreeable, and when towards the conclusion of our tour the weather became a little chillier at nights, we exchanged canvas for a regular Indian lodge of buffalo leather supported by poles, which has the advantage of admitting a small wood fire within its precincts, so that you are really very comfortable no matter how stormy and bitter it may be outside."

When the year 1878 began, Lord Dufferin's term of office had not many months to run before expiring; but at the suggestion of the Colonial Office he willingly prolonged it until October. Further extension he did not desire, though Sir John Macdonald, who

was then leading the Opposition with every prospect of a speedy return to the Premiership, wrote privately to the English ministry an urgent recommendation that Lord Dufferin should be asked to remain two years longer in Canada. The Russian war had just ended, leaving all Europe in a state of disquietude; and Sir John was anxious (he said) that advantage should be taken of a somewhat threatening political situation to press for some organized system under which an effective auxiliary force could be raised and maintained by the colony in times of war. Lord Dufferin, he wrote, who is not only popular in the ordinary sense of the word, but has acquired the confidence of the Parliament and the people—who has visited and thoroughly knows every part of the territory—"would carry the country in its present warlike mood if he took up the question warmly." But Lord Dufferin's mind was now turned toward home, nor had he any inclination toward an Australian governorship, although Lord Carnarvon and Sir Michael Hicks Beach had both sounded him on this subject.

In February, after opening Parliament at Ottawa, he accepted an invitation from the Montreal citizens, was enthusiastically welcomed, received an address in Greek from the McGill University, surprised and gratified his erudite audience by replying in the same language, and was admitted to the honorary degree of D.C.L. In a speech foreshadowing departure, made at a banquet given in his honour, he touched the emotions of listeners accustomed to a cooler tone of official eloquence, by his peculiar gift of bringing personal feelings and sympathies into his conception of public duties. He congratulated them on the growing prosperity of their city, and of Canada at large; he acknowledged their hospitable welcome of

him, and the support and confidence that the Canadian people had accorded to him during his six years of sojourning among them. He dwelt upon the transient presence in Canada of Governors General who pass across the stage, to mark a period, and perhaps to leave some kindly memories. Therefore, he concluded, "in acknowledging your hospitality, and the marks of your affection and goodwill, it is not the individual who thanks you, but the interpreter and representative of those indestructible principles of constitutional government and of imperial unity which are the foundations of your private happiness and public prosperity."

Then followed, at Ottawa, the farewell ball, and the presentation to His Excellency of a valedictory address from both Houses of Parliament. At Montreal there was a grand military review, when Lord Dufferin took occasion to allude to numerous offers that had been made by Canadian volunteers, of service in the Queen's armies abroad whenever they should take the field. In June he took his final departure from Ottawa, transferring his residence to Quebec; and went to Cambridge (U.S.) for the reception of a degree from the Harvard University. He made a tour in August through the Eastern townships, received and replied to sundry and divers addresses, opened the Toronto exhibition, held levées and acknowledged innumerable tokens of the honour and gratitude that he had earned from the Canadian people; until, in the wind, rain, and tossing waters of a storm sweeping up the St. Lawrence, he took ship at Quebec for England.

The last public event under his Governor Generalship was the defeat of the Free Trade party at a general election, the resignation, in October, of Mr. Mackenzie, and the triumphant return to office

of Sir John Macdonald with a "National Policy" of tariff-revision on the basis of protection to Home industries.

Lord Carnarvon had written to Lord Dufferin of the universal regrets that he was leaving behind him in Canada, "the sole disadvantage to your successor being that he will always have an impossible standard before him;" Lord Cairns offered his "sincere congratulations on the splendid success of your Viceroyalty;" and Lord Northbrook rejoiced at the brilliant success of his career in Canada.

Long after his departure from their country the Canadians, particularly those with whom he had been associated officially, watched Lord Dufferin's subsequent fortunes with friendly interest.

Sir Charles Tupper wrote to him on January 7, 1879—

"I have witnessed with intense satisfaction the manner in which your Lordship has been received by all parties and classes on your return to your native land, showing as it does that an Imperial fame may be achieved in Canada as well as in Great Britain. Every one here is delighted to find that in losing you as a Viceroy we have found an able and eloquent advocate in the heart of the Empire. In your speech at Belfast you even excelled yourself. You will I know be glad to hear that the Marquis of Lorne has made a very favourable impression, and that the Princess is winning all hearts."

In February 1881 Mr. Mackenzie tells him that—

"The old adage that absent faces are soon forgotten is not true in your case. The whole people seem to keep your names in affectionate remembrance, for the course you pursued in meeting the people so much has left an indelible impression on the popular mind."

And Lady Macdonald * wrote to him (apparently on his nomination to Constantinople in 1881)—

"to say what unbounded pleasure it has given us all to know of your recent appointment. I hope you will feel that none are more sincere in their congratulations than our little circle. Since you have left our shores we have watched and followed you, rejoicing in every fresh proof of Her Majesty's esteem and confidence, and in everything pertaining to your welfare and success. We owe you and Lady Dufferin much, and there are many to share our feelings. People still speak of you both with the greatest affection and respect."

It is indeed beyond question, for on this point the testimony of Canadian writers is unanimous, that in Canada Lord Dufferin rendered great and timely services to the British empire. A few years before his appointment to the Governor Generalship the set of opinion among English politicians had been toward the belief that colonial possessions imposed upon the mother country troublesome liabilities with very inadequate and temporary advantage—that a full-grown colony became naturally impatient of parental control, and that self-government was merely the prelude to separation. Such presentiments were likely to accelerate their own fulfilment by creating discouragement on both sides. In a letter to Lord Granville (1889) Lord Dufferin alludes to a passage in the "Autobiography of Sir Henry Taylor," one of the ablest under-secretaries at the Colonial Office. Writing to the Duke of Newcastle, then (1864) Colonial Secretary, Sir Henry Taylor had said—

"When your Grace and the Prince of Wales were

* Now Baroness Macdonald of Earnscliffe.

employing yourselves so successfully in conciliating the (Canadian) colonists I thought you were drawing closer ties that might be better slackened if there were any chance of slipping away. I think that a policy which has regard to a not very distant future should prepare facilities and propensities for separation."

And Lord Dufferin adds—

"It is perfectly true that, after I had been appointed to Canada, Bob Lowe came up to me in a club and said, 'Now you ought to make it your business to get rid of the Dominion,' to which I replied that I certainly did not intend to be handed down to history as the Governor General who had lost Canada."

Views and predictions of this sort could not have failed to create some impression in the colonies—

"Before Lord Dufferin assumed the government of Canada, the injudicious expression in England of erroneous ideas relating to the connexion between her and the mother country had engendered, not a feeling of disloyalty, but a feeling of disappointed affection in the minds of many thoughtful Canadians. They felt hurt that their warm attachment to the parent state was not universally reciprocated; and a feeling of injured pride, possibly, stole over Canadian hearts when they found their splendid country looked upon as an incubus on imperial policy, and themselves regarded as thriftless hangers-on to a rich patron." *

Nevertheless, Mr. Leggo assures us, the attachment of the colonists to the British sovereignty had never been really shaken. He declares that Canada "owes a deep debt of gratitude to Lord Dufferin

* Leggo, pp. 852-3.

for the clearness and boldness with which he proclaimed his unbounded confidence in her unselfish loyalty." And Mr. Stewart concludes his "History of Lord Dufferin's Administration" with a quotation from one of the speeches of the departing Governor General, which strikes the keynote of his policy and records his just exultation over its success.

"I found you a loyal people, and I leave you the truest-hearted subjects of Her Majesty's Dominions. I found you proud of your descent and anxious to maintain your connexion with the mother country; I leave you more convinced than ever of the solicitude of Great Britain to reciprocate your affection, of her dependence on your fidelity in every emergency. I found you—men of various nationalities—of English, French, Irish, Scotch and German descent, working out the problems of constitutional government with admirable success; I leave you with even a deeper conviction in your minds that the due application of the principles of Parliamentary government is capable of resolving all political difficulties, and of controlling the gravest ministerial crisis, to the satisfaction of the people at large, and of their leaders and representatives of every shade of opinion." *

* Speeches and Addresses of the Earl of Dufferin, p. 257.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EMBASSY TO ST. PETERSBURG.

After six years in Canada, Lord Dufferin had but a short holiday at home. In January 1879, Lord Beaconsfield, who had spoken with unqualified approval of Lord Dufferin's Canadian administration, wrote to the Duke of Somerset—

"I think it highly desirable both for his own sake and that of the country that Lord Dufferin should be employed. Would he go as ambassador to St. Petersburg? It is at this moment the most important Court, and I require a first-rate man there."

The overture was successful, for some days later Lord Dufferin received a letter from the Prime Minister, who said that it had always been his wish to place him in some first-rate post where his abilities and experience would serve the country, and that to his (the Premier's) peculiar satisfaction this wish could now be at length fulfilled. And early in February it became known that Lord Dufferin had been appointed to the British embassy at St. Petersburg.

"The offer" (Lord Dufferin wrote later) "was made in very handsome terms, leaving me quite free as to my politics, so that I had no misgivings on that score; but there was something rather comical in my position at the Reform Club banquet, and my speech

on that occasion was not the easiest that I have had to make. I do not think Gladstone was quite pleased, though he sent me a very kind message."

Lord Granville, in fact, on first hearing privately of the appointment, had written confidentially and fully to Mr. Gladstone, who replied—

"Thanks for your detailed information of a rather peculiar case. I really do not know why Dufferin should consider himself to be under any sort of obligation to me. But though I cannot be glad he is in confidential relations with Lord Beaconsfield, I feel with you that no condemnation of the act could properly be pronounced, and also that after he had done it, he was more than ever bound to attend the Reform Club dinner."

That the selection of ambassadors should be unaffected by party considerations, is a principle to which no English statesman would demur. If the tone of Mr. Gladstone's reply indicated some reserve and negative approval, it must be remembered that his thunderous denunciations of Lord Beaconsfield's policy in the East were still echoing through the country, that he had proposed a vote of censure upon the proceedings in Afghanistan, and that upon this field he was marshalling his forces for the great assault upon the Conservative government which carried him to victory at the general election twelve months later. In these circumstances the post of ambassador to Russia had more than ordinary importance, for a change of Cabinets at home would mean a reversal of policy on Eastern questions abroad; and Conservative appointments might not have suited a Liberal Foreign Office. But while Mr. Gladstone could hardly have been expected to signify

more than acquiescence in the choice made by the Tory Premier of one who had belonged to a Liberal ministry, he said enough to prove that Lord Dufferin enjoyed the confidence of both parties.

"It is a well-deserved compliment" (Lord Spencer wrote to him) "to be selected to a post which requires the best qualities of a diplomatist and statesman by a government with whose policy you do not agree; and as no doubt you have a perfectly clear understanding as to political independence, I think you were so right to take it."

Lord Carnarvon, who had resigned office when the British fleet was ordered to Constantinople, cordially approved the appointment; and Dean Stanley, in congratulating the new ambassador, wrote—

"In spite of all their faults, I love the Russians, and I am glad that they will have among them one who will understand as well as comfort them. I trust that the blessings of Niagara and the St. Lawrence may accompany you to the Neva."

From Lord Odo Russell (then ambassador at Berlin) he received the following letter:—

"You will have heard from Arthur * how delighted we are at your having consented to join our body, after having been the most successfully brilliant ruler among the sovereigns of the world, and made yourself an immortal name among your fellow-creatures. To me it is all joy to have you as a neighbour and colleague, and I feel sure you will mesmerize the Russians as you mesmerized and fascinated me in the good old days of Grosvenor Place and Pembroke Lodge! *Tempi passati!*—In Russia you will find a very difficult problem to solve, and a great policy

* Lord Arthur Russell.

to inaugurate, as Lord Beaconsfield knows and has better understood than any statesman living. You are the man to succeed in it, and you will confer great blessings on England, Russia, and the Eastern world.

"I look forward anxiously to seeing you when you pass through Berlin, and write this line to say that I hope you will command my services in every way."

In 1866 a Breakfast club had been formed in London, with Lord Dufferin as one of its twelve members. It still flourishes; and Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff notes in his Diary for February 17, 1879, a special meeting to wish all good luck to Lord Dufferin (at least personally) before he set out for St. Petersburg. He was as usual in great spirits, describing admirably the consummate acting in the Chinese theatre at San Francisco—"itself, with its old-world civilization, so strange a contrast to its surroundings."

The Reform Club dinner, to which Mr. Gladstone had alluded, took place on the second evening before Lord Dufferin departed for Russia, when the Liberal party mustered in force to acclaim his success in Canada, and to speed him on his new mission. Their leaders had seized this opportunity of strengthening and stimulating the attachment of Canada to the mother country. The Gladstonians were under grave suspicion of slighting colonial connexions; and here was a superlative occasion for publicly refuting injurious allegations. Lord Granville, who presided at the banquet, reminded his audience that their guest had won his first distinction upon the Syrian Commission, and that other similar questions of great importance, relating to Turkish affairs, were just then prominent at St. Petersburg. With regard to the

Canadian Governor Generalship, he enlarged upon the signal service rendered to the empire by the very remarkable speeches in which Lord Dufferin had inspired the colonists with noble aims and high expectations, with pride in their country and confidence in its future destiny, and with a patriotism that would not easily die out.

The Liberal party (Lord Granville said)

"had been accused of treating with indifference the warm and spontaneous loyalty of the colonists, and of secretly longing to repudiate the burdens of a world-wide empire. What could be a better method of clearing Liberalism from such damaging imputations than to show the world that Lord Dufferin, the most successful of colonial governors, the most eloquent advocate of Imperialism in its best and highest sense, had been throughout and still remained a consistent member of the Liberal party?"

In this passage we have the keynote of the situation. The Liberals were anxious to proclaim and carry to their own account Lord Dufferin's Canadian achievements. No less was it their desire and particular intention to emphasize their understanding, and to register his own affirmation, that in the sphere of domestic politics he still ranked among them, and that he might accept foreign service under the Crown without relaxing his allegiance to their standard at home, the more easily because he had been kept apart and at a distance from the stormy field of recent parliamentary warfare.

Lord Dufferin, in his reply, spoke of the banquet as much more than a compliment to himself.

"It is a proof" (he said) "of the interest, the good will, and the affection felt by some of the most distinguished men in England toward the future destinies

of Canada; and it is an unspeakable pleasure to me to have been the occasion of this demonstration."

He explained clearly, in the course of his speech, that he had not accepted Lord Beaconsfield's offer without stipulating for entire freedom in the domain of English politics, upon which his opinions remained unaffected and unchanged. And undoubtedly these public declarations were not altogether superfluous.

"A little constraint" (the *Times* observed next morning) "was inevitable in the speeches of politicians who have been used to condemn unsparingly the policy of which Lord Dufferin has now become the accredited agent. Lord Dufferin has himself a well-merited reputation for tact; but his manly candour stood him in better stead than all the subtleties of Talleyrand. He asserted not only his Liberal convictions, but his determination to share the political fortunes of his party."

Lord Dufferin left England (February 24) after an interval of little more than three months from his arrival. His departure was expedited by the pressing representations of the Foreign Office that important and urgent interests demanded his presence at St. Petersburg. It was known, moreover, that the Czar's ambassador in London was by no means on confidential terms with his chief, Prince Gortchakoff; so that the British embassy had become more than ever, for the moment, the essential channel of communication with the principal Russian minister.

Lord Dufferin, therefore, assumed charge of his first embassy at a time when the condition of affairs in Russia, and the state of our relations with its government, provided ample scope for the highest diplomatic experience and capacity. The Treaty of

standing his government would spare no efforts toward an amicable solution of all outstanding questions. Two interviews followed with Prince Gortchakoff, who received the ambassador with great cordiality, and dwelt principally upon the necessity of so dealing with the affairs of the Balkan peninsula that the Turkish government might have no reason for calculating upon a disunion between England and Russia in regard to them.

To the Duke of Argyll Lord Dufferin writes in March—

"I did not come here with a very light heart. Another spell of an Arctic climate is not a pleasant prospect. But the offer of the post was a great compliment, and having been so long absent from England I thought it a good opportunity of educating myself a little in European politics—moreover, I hate being idle. . . .

"The Russians have given me a very good reception, and, socially, are disposed to be friendly.

"The hours they keep are dreadful. You dine at six, but their Drums and parties do not begin till half-past eleven, and you never go to bed much before three or four. Luckily we have not yet become entangled in these untimely dissipations. . . .

"Chanzy, the French ambassador, has just come, and dined with me last night. I saw him last nineteen years ago, when we parted in Syria. He told me this story—

"In one of his battles he was up in a church tower, when he saw a regiment give way. He descended with great haste to rally them—catching hold of one fellow by the collar he pulled out his revolver from the holster intending to shoot him through the head, but he could not find the trigger, and then saw that he had got hold of a small brandy bottle, which the forethought of his servant had

provided him with. This he broke over the culprit's head, who got off cheaper than he otherwise would have done."

During the following months Lord Dufferin was occupied with disentangling many complications that were hindering the performance of the Treaty stipulations—the delimitation of new frontiers, the withdrawal of the Russian army from the Balkan peninsula, and the administrative arrangements for the territory left under the Turkish sovereignty. He acted upon the conviction that a firm attitude, and a clear understanding of the position which his government had assumed and intended to maintain, might have kept Russia from some serious errors into which she had been led by mistrust of England in the past; and that this would be the only sure road out of present difficulties. The Russian government, moreover, was harassed in these intricate disputes over foreign affairs by the protests and plots of the violent National party, who denounced the impotent cowardice of yielding to pro-Turkish influences, and reproached the government with abandoning a holy crusade. In this heated atmosphere the subterranean fires broke out, and Nihilism struck fiercely at the authorities. Incendiarism and daring attempts at political murders kept the country in continual alarm; a woman who tried to kill the chief of the police was acquitted by a special jury; and martial law had been proclaimed in the districts where these crimes were rife. In April 1879 the emperor narrowly escaped assassination. According to Lord Dufferin's report of the incident, the emperor, walking in the square before his palace, was met by a respectably dressed man, who saluted him, stepped aside, and fired

several shots at the emperor when he passed, all of which luckily missed him. This man was the son of an old servant of the imperial household, educated, it was said, at the expense of the Grand Duchess, and by profession a schoolmaster.

"Directly the news spread through the city all the nobility and the ladies flocked to the palace, the latter smothering the emperor with kisses."

In the course of this year Lord and Lady Dufferin made two expeditions to England, the first in May, when they were invited to Windsor, and passed a few days at Clandeboye. At Oxford the degree of D.C.L. was conferred upon Lord Dufferin.

The subjoined extracts from his letters to Lady Dufferin in England give some account of his return journey to Russia in June (1879) and of his arrival at St. Petersburg—

"At Minden we were given 22 minutes for an excellent dinner, and the first person I sat down beside turned out to be Ronald Gower.* The day was full of sunshine, and the country looked quite beautiful, not so garden-like as England, but still lovely in its great breadth of corn land and pasture, dotted with farm houses and red-roofed villages. We got to Berlin at half-past seven, and Ronald, an artist friend with whom he was travelling, and I had dinner in the courtyard of the Kaiserhoff, which you

* "At Minden station I had the good fortune to meet Lord Dufferin, and continued the journey with him to Berlin, and then on to Russia. He is as easily pleased and as '*unblasé*' with such things as ever he was, and not at all changed or spoilt by having been a Governor General, and a present Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. His is certainly a delightful nature; no wonder he is so popular and universally liked wherever he goes, whether it be Syria, Canada, or Russia."—Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower's "Reminiscences," pp. 440, 441.

will remember. They gave me the same rooms we had before. After dinner we strolled out to hear some music in their garden. The night was divine, and the music excellent, and so home to bed about 12. This morning I have despatched a letter to Prince Bismarck to tell him of my arrival, and proposing I should pay him a visit.

"*July* 2.—I dined last night with Bismarck, both he and his wife were extremely courteous, and I spent a good hour after dinner listening to him. When I got up to go away he paid me a number of compliments, and said that everybody at St. Petersburg was delighted with me, and that I had done more than any one to bring about the present peaceful condition of Europe. The Princess bade me make their house my hotel whenever I returned.

"*St. Petersburg.*—On reaching the station I found all the embassy awaiting me, and it was a great comfort seeing their pleasant cordial faces. After dinner W. Compton carried me off in a nice little open carriage he has got for me to the point where the *beau monde* assemble. On this occasion, however, it was only represented by Chakir Pasha and a few naughty ladies. It was still quite light when I returned home at 12: this at all events is a comfort, as by knocking about one does not feel so lonely. Next day I saw the Langenaus and Chanzy, with whom I had a long conversation. He is certainly clever, with clear, precise ideas, and very pleasant and friendly. I dined by myself in a forlorn manner and then took a turn with Chanzy. I finished my evening by a visit to Princess Soltikoff, who is living in a little damp villa just outside the town. Negra was there, and I passed a sufficiently pleasant half-hour, and so home to bed."

He was specially invited to witness some grand military manœuvres, and he describes what he saw as he stood beside the emperor.

"The entire force, horse, foot, and artillery, was arranged in two divisions with a view of attacking an imaginary enemy. Our line of battle must have been seven or eight miles wide. At first the right wing advanced its artillery to some convenient heights, and after blazing away for half an hour, we hurled our cavalry at the foe, but the attack was repulsed, and both guns and dragoons had to retire. Soon after, however, the left wing commenced its advance. Nothing could have been prettier than to see the several batteries discover themselves among the woods in the far distance, by their unexpected puffs of white smoke. Indeed the way in which the whole field of vision became imperceptibly peopled with battalions was extraordinary; catching first a head here and then another there in the short brushwood before us. You gradually perceived as the eye wandered on, that the place was alive with scattered pelotons of tirailleurs, then whole regiments advancing in loose formation, wave upon wave round two-thirds of the vast arena, while the distant horizon became fringed with thunder, smoke, and fire. . . . The artillery from all sides approached nearer and nearer, the two corps of infantry, into which the army had originally been divided, drove down upon us in a joint attack, and at last dashing through the intervals of the regiments, the light brigade on one side, the heavy dragoons on the other side, the entire cavalry charged simultaneously upon the flying foe. This last performance was really glorious. There must have been from six to seven thousand horsemen engaged in the operation, and the rapid movement of such warriors, their breast-plates and helmets glittering in the sun, with the shouts of their commanders, produced an effect which it is impossible to describe. . . .

"I forgot to mention that in one of Peter the Great's little pleasure palaces which I have seen there was a table, which mounted by machinery from the

kitchen below to the dining-room above. The plates, or rather the centre of the table, performed this evolution. Each plate did the same, and its owner had in front of him a string which pulled a bell, and as each bell had a different note, the cook always knew which of the guests it was that wanted his plate changed. . . .

"This afternoon I have made an expedition to Paulovsk . . . and seen the palace, which was interesting. Among other things displayed were all the articles which happened to be on the emperor Paul's table the night he was assassinated, consisting of a small piece of soap, a hair-brush, some envelopes and things of that description. It appears that in all the Russian schools the fact of his murder is eliminated from the histories, and he is represented as having died a natural death.

"I am counting every hour, and long for the time when I shall see you again. How nice will be the quiet and repose of Clandeboye. . . ."

Lord Dufferin left Russia again for England at the end of August, and on arrival in London he went straight to Clandeboye. During the three following months his diary records two voyages to Ireland, and six weeks in Paris, dinners with M. Waddington the French foreign minister, and with the Duc d'Aumale; the opera with the Duc d'Orleans; and in England visits to the Queen, Lord Salisbury, and Lord Beaconsfield.

To Lady Dufferin, who returned separately and before him to St. Petersburg, as Foreign Office business detained him unexpectedly in England, he wrote at length and assiduously.

"*October* 10.—I have just come from Lord Salisbury, and he wishes me to delay my departure —the reasons are sufficiently obvious so I cannot but acquiesce in their cogency.

"*November* 27.—I called on Lord Salisbury to-day for my final instructions, when to my dismay he informed me that he would like me to stay in London a week or ten days longer, why and wherefore I cannot explain by post. Of course I could only acquiesce, but it sent a pang to my heart to think what a disappointment the news would cause you. . . . Remember that I am of a very anxious disposition in regard to those I love, and that if your little finger aches for more than twenty-four hours at a stretch, I shall hurry off to you in spite of Salisbury and Cabinet."

On November 29 he received a sudden summons to Windsor.

"The Queen had a bad headache, but she was very kind and civil notwithstanding. After dinner Schouvaloff, Lady S. and myself played whist, and to everybody's astonishment Schouvaloff started off at 12 o'clock in a post chaise for London, instead of taking a special train which would have been cheaper and of course infinitely quicker."

At last on December 11 he was allowed to set off for St. Petersburg, but on his way he received from Prince Bismarck an invitation to visit him at Varzin. His principal interview with the great Chancellor may be related in his own words—

December 17, 1879.—"I arrived at Berlin late on the 12th and immediately received a command from the Empress to wait upon her at four o'clock the next day. She honoured me with an audience of three-quarters of an hour, during the course of which the Emperor came in looking wonderfully well. Her Majesty was most earnest in her expressions of her affection and admiration for the Queen, but she did not conceal her want of sympathy for Russia and its government. She expressed her

delight at our successes in Afghanistan, and terminated the interview by earnestly hoping that peace in Europe might continue to be preserved.

"The same evening I received a visit from Prince Bismarck inviting me to visit him at Varzin, for which place I accordingly started the following morning, and reached the Prince's château at about 5 o'clock. I found His Highness dining by himself in his dressing-gown, having just begun to recover from what has evidently been a pretty sharp bilious attack, which had occasioned him a great deal of suffering. The pain had been so great, he said, he had been ready to climb up the four walls of his room. I was then hurried off to my dinner in another room with his son. I was not allowed to wash my hands or to go to my own room. The dinner was very good in a rough kind of way, with plenty of wine. After dinner he sent for me again, and I spent more than two hours *tête-à-tête* with him. I also saw him the next morning, and have every reason to be satisfied both with the cordial reception he gave me, and the extreme frankness with which he spoke to me.

"Prefacing his remarks by saying, 'It will probably be useful to you to know the following circumstances,' he entered upon a very humorous and epigrammatic view of some of the recent political transactions in which he had been concerned.

"I now subjoin a succinct sketch of what he told me.

"Some time ago (he did not mention the exact date, but he evidently referred to an epoch some time antecedent to the late Eastern troubles) his notice was attracted by the extent to which Russia was massing her cavalry along her western frontier, enough for an army of 400,000 men. He could not bring himself to believe that war against Germany was intended, and eventually he concluded it was either Austria or Turkey was being menaced. Perhaps there was an alternative scheme against both.

Feeling convinced that Russia was determined 'to let itself blood,' he thought it would be less dangerous to Europe that the attack should be made on Turkey than on Austria, and he did his best to divert the current of aggression in that direction. In the course of the subsequent negociations to this end, the Russians asked him if he would allow them to annex Batoum. He answered them that he did not care twopence about Batoum. Indeed it is evident he would have been glad had they entered Constantinople and celebrated a Mass in St. Sophia, provided, of course, they had marched out again.

"Coming down to more recent times he said he had done everything at the Congress of Berlin to forward the views put forward by Russia, but that, notwithstanding, Russia was offended with him and with Germany, because they had not divined what Russia had wanted in addition and obtained it for her. That during the course of last summer the Russian emperor had written a letter to the emperor of Germany threatening him with war in the usual formula known to diplomatists, if the German representatives in the Eastern Commission continued to vote against their Russian colleagues. That the King had communicated the letter to him, and that he had drafted a reply, which was sent, protesting against the patronizing air assumed by the Czar, enumerating the occasions on which Russia had as much reason to be grateful to Germany as Germany to Russia, refusing to submit to dictation, and requesting that the Czar in future would address him (the emperor of Germany) as an equal to an equal, and not as a superior. That it was at this time that Russian overtures were made to France through General Obretchoff, who had been sent to assist at the French manœuvres, but that Chanzy having reported that the Russians were not ready, the French government became less disposed than ever to embark in an adventurous policy.

"The perseverance of Russia in her attitude of menace then suggested to him that she had come to a secret understanding with Austria against Germany, which he knew would be agreeable to the Court party and many influential persons at Vienna. From his interview with Andrassy at Gastein he discovered his fears to be unfounded, but he determined to go to Vienna in order to assure himself of the exact state of the political situation there. I gathered that he was fortified in this resolution by the fact of the German emperor having gone to meet the Czar against his express entreaties, on the plea that Alexander could not safely come into Germany.

"Prince Bismarck had desired that the terms of the alliance of the two empires should have been solemnly consigned to a public treaty, and that this document should have required the consent of the respective Parliaments of the two Powers before any clause in it could be repealed or modified by the government of either. This latter arrangement he was not able to effect, but nevertheless he considers the actual agreement as equally solid and durable.

"He then referred in a very humorous manner to the cheerful way in which the Russians had pretended to acquiesce in this new order of things, and that Souvaroff had come to him with his face beaming as soon as he heard the news, and assured him it was the one thing he had most desired. 'He could not have been more affectionate,' said the Prince, 'had we been about to marry our son and daughter.' As for the Russians he had frankly given them the following explanation of his visit to Vienna—'I regarded you as a dear friend with whom I was taking a solitary walk and who suddenly had gone mad. I rushed off to provide myself with a pocket pistol, and now I am come back to continue my walk with you in the same amicable manner, but in a more comfortable state of mind as to my own safety.'

"He spoke of this pact with Austria as a sure

guarantee for the peace of Europe. He said he had a passion for peace, that he had got all that he wanted, and that Germany now belonged to the party of *les satisfaits*. England, he said, is also anxious for peace. She likes indeed having a little 'sporting' war or two on hand in distant parts, but in Europe she desires peace. Both the Prince and his entourage, who I imagine reflect his sentiments, evidently regard France with great mistrust, and believe that on the first opportunity she will attack Prussia, especially if a Radical government comes in. The best guarantee, the Prince thought, against anything of this kind was our alliance with France. As long as we are friends and act together in the East, France is unlikely to fall into the hands of Russia, but if we shake her off like a woman of doubtful virtue, into the arms of Russia she will go.

"I asked him what he thought of Turkey, and referred to the apparent difficulty of keeping the Ottoman empire going. This he admitted, but he said 'the Ottoman empire is one of those things which *has* to go.'" *

Writing to a friend in England Lord Dufferin mentions this remarkable interview—

"I found Prince Bismarck ill but as vigorous in conversation as ever. He kept me two full hours giving a history of recent events in Europe from his own point of view. Varzin is a rambling unpretending house of no style, but with one huge wing added to it by the Chancellor himself. The estate, which he bought some twelve years ago, is about fifteen

* Dr. Busch has published, in his work already cited, his notes of various conversations with the Chancellor, among which may be found in substance much that Bismarck said to Lord Dufferin. The treaty between Germany and Austria had just been concluded; and Bismarck desired to explain that he made it out of fear lest Russia, France, and possibly Austria, should form a coalition, while he doubted whether in that event England would stand by Germany.

or twenty thousand acres. What induced him to pitch his tent in such a God-forsaken district of Pomerania I cannot conceive. It possesses a Russian climate, and is destitute of any picturesque feature to relieve its barren expanses and monotonous pine forests; but its owner is evidently very proud of his possessions, and is perpetually planting trees, and taking his guests to see them grow."

Lord Odo Russell wrote to him from Berlin (December 26, 1879)—

"Your visit to Varzin has created deep sensation in the diplomatic world, and my colleagues, in reply to my assertion that I know but little about it, inform me that you went there to interest Bismarck in our Indian affairs and secure his future support against Russian intrigues."

"Gortchakoff is here and remains till to-morrow night. He is greatly put out at hearing from London that you are to go to Constantinople, and says Her Majesty's government will never find another ambassador so sympathetic, so popular, or so well received as you, and that he protests against your leaving St. Petersburg, etc., etc. I assured him I had heard nothing about this report and did not for one moment believe it, which soothed his feelings of disappointment, vexation, and regret."

Again, on January 9, 1880—

"The Princess Radziwill, whom you met at our house, showed us a private letter from one of her Russian friends describing your brilliant reception and beautiful embassy, and saying that Lady Dufferin and yourself were the most charming and popular diplomatists that had ever been in St. Petersburg."

The subjoined note from Prince Bismarck may be worth preserving (January 20, 1880)—

"Many thanks for your kind wishes, which I cordially reciprocate, naturally including Lady Dufferin, if she will graciously allow it.

"Your book, into which I entered with much pleasure, confirms my previous impression, that you are the man for high latitudes.

"*Au revoir*, dear Lord Dufferin."

On January 1, 1880, Lord Dufferin writes—

"We held our great reception the other day—a very solemn ceremony; the Emperor sending four 'Chambellans' from the Court to introduce his lieges to us. The whole Russian society attended; and I have been greatly complimented on their alacrity in coming. . . . I am very glad to be at rest, after rocketting so much about the world; I have crossed the two Channels, Irish and English, six and twenty times during the last ten months."

Meanwhile the movements of the Russian army in Central Asia were disquieting England and India. In July 1879, the manifest preparations for an expedition on a large scale against the Tekke Turkomans brought the British ambassador to the Russian minister for explanation. The Russian Cabinet was prodigal in soothing assurances, but positive engagements as to the precise limits of these operations were not forthcoming; nor indeed could Russia be expected to place a formal bar over her own line of advance into countries mainly desert or inhabited by restless nomad tribes. Neither in physics nor in politics is the theory of a vacuum admissible; and the vacant spaces on the world's map are gradually filled up by the gravitation toward each other of the solid political bodies. It was vain and even unreasonable to suppose that diplomatic protests would retard the subjugation by Russia of the wild Turkomans, or prevent the

occupation of Merv; while by encouraging the tribes to resist we were merely expediting their destruction. Undoubtedly it was desirable that Russia should be restrained from acquiring a position close to the Afghan frontier that enabled her at will to disquiet England by threatening a State under our protection; but our reasons for opposing such a move on the strategical chess-board were precisely those which induced Russia to make it. On the other hand, the English forces had occupied Kabul in October 1879; and rumours of further advances into western Afghanistan were alarming the Russians, who feared that we might establish a position that would dominate all north-eastern Persia by the seizure of Herat. But Russia herself was taking up ground across the Caspian on the Persian frontier. The situation provided each party with pretexts for distrustful inquiries and diplomatic retorts, which had little or no real influence upon the action of either government, except so far that each of them was confirmed in the determination to consult its own interests with very little regard for the other.

All this time within Russia the elements of political hatred and despair were being compressed to the point of explosion. The Nihilists, having lost all hope of reforming by other means the autocratic system, were resorting to terrorism. The police had descended upon the centres of Nihilistic propaganda, making numerous captives, and sweeping within their net some English newspaper reporters who had hurried to the scene in the exercise of their vocation. Among others of a higher class a prominent lady in St. Petersburg society, who had won Lord Dufferin's admiration, had been suddenly ordered into exile. When in April 1879 the assassin who fired at the emperor had been arrested, he had said, on hearing

that his attempt had failed, "It will only have to begin over again;" and in spite of this warning the prediction was fulfilled. On February 18, 1880, Lord Dufferin was dining with the French ambassador, when Monsieur de Giers, the Russian minister, who was also present, mentioned that he had heard a loud explosion in the direction of the palace, and had sent for information. A messenger soon brought news of an attempt to blow up the emperor's apartments. This broke up the party, and Lord Dufferin hurried to the palace, where the emperor, accompanied by the Duchess of Edinburgh, came out to speak with him. His first words were, "Providence has again mercifully saved me."

To Lord Salisbury, February 18, 1880—

"He (the Emperor) then told me that the Empress was asleep when the catastrophe occurred—that the noise had not awoke her, and that she was still unaware of what had happened. The Duchess of Edinburgh, I am told, showed remarkable courage and presence of mind, her apartments being in very close proximity to the scene of the catastrophe."

It appeared that a mine had been fired on the basement story immediately under the room where the emperor was to dine; that the explosion had completely destroyed the heavy vaulted roof which separated the basement from the apartment on the ground floor where the guard had been dining, that eight soldiers had been killed and forty-five wounded, but that as the concussion had not seriously affected the floor above, no further mischief had been done. The Prince of Bulgaria, who was expected to dinner, was late—a shot had been fired at the royal carriage that was taking him to the palace—and the emperor

had been waiting for him in the drawing-room at the moment of the explosion. Rumours had been abroad for months past, Lord Dufferin wrote, of a conspiracy to blow up the palace, which had been kept crammed with soldiers ever since the emperor's return — a strange method of precaution against a gunpowder plot; but according to Lord Dufferin the imbecility of the special household police had been superhuman. The general commanding the palace guard was in a lift when the mine blew up; the men working the pulleys fled, and left him suspended midway for nearly two hours, while every one was searching for him; and "his friends imagined that having been at the bottom of the plot he had withdrawn himself from public observation." Military reinforcements were hurriedly summoned; the soldiers dropped cartridges as they ran through the streets, and these were exploded by the wheels of passing carriages, increasing the panic and bewildering the police, who pounced upon the *drosky* of an unlucky English governess, and dragged her off to prison on the charge of having fired a pistol.

"The catastrophe" (Lord Dufferin wrote) "has thrown the whole city into a state of great consternation, more especially as it is reported that the Nihilists have warned General D—— that he need not take any pains to illuminate the town on the 19th, as a general conflagration of St. Petersburg will sufficiently celebrate the event. It is certain that many people, and amongst them a personal friend of my own, have received letters warning them to quit houses adjoining those occupied by obnoxious functionaries if they wish to escape the destruction to which these last are doomed. As, however, the government has got 60,000 troops in garrison in St. Petersburg and its neighbourhood, I cannot

conceive there is any prospect of the public peace being disturbed."

A fortnight later came the attempt to assassinate Count Melikoff, who had just been invested with unlimited executive authority. Lord Dufferin writes to Lady Dartrey—

"I saw Loris Melikoff within a few minutes after he had been shot at, and he showed me the hole in his coat where the bullet had grazed his spine. It was a very near thing. He was very much pleased when I observed that it was probably the first time his enemies had ever had a chance of aiming at that part of his body."

At home, meanwhile, the vicissitudes of party warfare had become interesting. So early as in February 1879, the English press had been ventilating rumours of a vacancy in the Governor Generalship of India; and it was more than once announced, quite erroneously, that Lord Dufferin had been offered and had refused the appointment. To his friends in England Lord Dufferin wrote contradicting these statements, though he intimated that, if any such change were in contemplation, of which he had no sort of knowledge, the prospect of leaving Russia for India would not be distasteful to him.

Then came in March 1880 the general election, with a decisive majority against the Conservatives. On April 24 Lord Salisbury telegraphed to Lord Dufferin the resignation of the Beaconsfield ministry, and Lord Granville succeeded to the Foreign Secretaryship.

Mr. Cashel Hoey writes to Lord Dufferin—

April 14, 1880.—"Ireland or India? *Utrum horum mavis accipe.* I know it will gratify you to know that no sooner was it seen that victory had really hovered

back to the Liberal standard than your name rose naturally to men's lips for either Fort William or the Castle. I send you the *Spectator* which consigns you to the charge of the Emerald Gem, and the *Telegraph* which believes you are the only person fit to be trusted with the Koh-i-noor."

But the turn of political events in England disappointed these auguries. Mr. John Morley has given * a detailed account of the circumstances and arguments by which Mr. Gladstone was induced to reconsider the declaration made during his Mid-Lothian campaign—that he hoped the country's verdict would place Lord Granville and Lord Hartington at the head of a Liberal ministry. It now appeared that he would accept no place but the first in the new government. He had in fact changed his mind rather unexpectedly; whereupon it became necessary to revise ministerial arrangements that had been planned beforehand upon other calculations. There was some difficulty about providing offices for influential supporters, and in the eventual distribution Lord Cowper went to Ireland, while the Marquis of Ripon accepted the Governor Generalship of India. Lord Dufferin received from his friends at home positive assurances that he had in no way forfeited the confidence of the Liberals by having accepted an embassy from the Conservative government, that there "was not the smallest feeling" against him on that score, and that the value of his services in one of the most important posts in Europe was fully and universally appreciated. Nevertheless Lord Dufferin, writing confidentially to an intimate friend, did not conceal some feeling of disappointment.

To Lady Dartrey, June 4, 1880—

"As nothing is more poor in politics than for a

* "Life of Gladstone," ii. pp. 616–631.

man to enlarge upon his personal grievances, it did not occur to me to mention the matter to you; but as you have touched upon the subject I do not mind saying in confidence that I should have thought my seven years in Canada, and the additional year I have spent here in keeping the peace between our Foreign Office and the Emperor, might have deserved a better reward than a further term of exile in an Arctic climate."

A letter from St. Petersburg, dated June 1880, describes a visit that he had just made to Moscow—

"Such a wonderful place! It far exceeded all my expectations. To add, moreover, to my delight, we found the new-born spring there in full feather, and really hot weather—a thing entirely unknown here.

"To me who am fond of architecture the Kremlin was an amazing delight, for it is the point where four distinct waves of architecture, converging from opposite points of the compass, have clashed up against each other into a spray of towers, minarets, pinnacles, and domes. Moreover, it is the only spot in Russia I have yet reached where one can persuade one's self that the country is anything better than an abortive kind of America. At Moscow at all events there are historical associations as well as an auto-ethnic vitality, instead of the European varnish which is the chief characteristic of St. Petersburg.

"The antique treasures stored up in the fortress in the shape of old silver, old carriages, and old armour would drive a collector mad, and I counted at least a dozen crowns worn by successive sovereigns during the last four centuries, each of which must have contained thousands of pounds' worth of precious stones. In addition the Russians have a mania for lavishing their diamonds and pearls upon the ecclesiastical images and vestments, and their churches blaze with coronets of jewels set round the black faces of their Byzantine saints and Madonnas.

"We climbed up innumerable towers, the view from each of which surpassed the preceding one in beauty. But what I enjoyed most was a drive to the Sparrow hills, a low range lying to the west of the city, and the spot from which Napoleon first beheld the goal of his wearisome marches. An equally delightful trip was to an old convent on the opposite side overhanging the banks of the river. These convents are really fortresses with numerous bastions and picturesque towers which have often rolled back the tide of Tartar and Polish invasion. Within the enceinte there arises a crop of churches, each church being crowned with a central dome, and half a dozen minaret-like cupolas, glittering with gold or with all the colours of the rainbow in the spring sunshine."

To Lord Granville Lord Dufferin writes (August 12)—

"As long as the fate of the Irish Bill was uncertain I refrained from referring to it, for one should not balk a friend when he is riding at a big fence, but I confess I am heartily glad to have been out of the way on such an occasion. My sense of obligation to Mr. Gladstone in past years and my loyalty to the party would have been in the most disagreeable antagonism to my convictions on the subject, and though I recommended the only two people who consulted me to vote with you, I doubt if I could have done so myself."

In September 1880 Lord Dufferin again left St. Petersburg on leave to England.* Soon after his

* "Lord Dufferin called at Cliveden on his return from Russia at the end of September. He is as delightful as ever; he gave an amusing account of his voyage by steamer from Russia to Leith—the steamer a beautiful little craft; and he had to sleep on a shelf in a little hole of a cabin full of old cheeses. In the middle of the night he was pitched off this shelf, picked up by the fat wife of the steward, who was full of compassion, and who 'kissed the place to make it well.'"—Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower's "Reminiscences," p. 472.

arrival he visited the Queen at Balmoral, and in October he crossed over with Lady Dufferin to Dublin, where, after some days' stay with the Lord-Lieutenant, Earl Cowper, they went on to Clandeboye. In November he was at Dublin giving evidence before the Land Commission, and afterwards in London he was examined by the Commission on Agricultural depression. His diary shows that at this time he was much occupied in discussing Irish affairs with the leaders of the Liberal party and others, and in writing the confidential memorandum that has been already mentioned. In December he returned to Russia, travelling by Paris and Berlin.

The English Foreign Office was now watching with increased attention the movements of General Skobeleff in the Transcaspian region of Central Asia, which pointed toward an occupation of the Merv oasis, the headquarters and last refuge of the nomad Turcoman tribes, where the Russians would find water in the desert, and a commanding position much nearer to the Afghan frontier. To the anxiety which this advance caused in England and India the Duke of Argyll rather hastily gave the nickname of "Mervousness." It was already fairly evident to the experienced observer that whatever might be the protestations of the Russian ministers at the capital, and although their sincerity might be indisputable, the Russian generals in the field must sooner or later find their way to a place of which the possession was necessary to them strategically, and essential for the permanent pacification of the surrounding country. The Emperor of Russia had sent to the Queen of England his personal assurances that Skobeleff's expedition would not be allowed to develop into an attack on Merv; yet when this

was mentioned by Lord Dufferin to a prominent politician at St. Petersburg, the Russian candidly observed that there was no saying where a general, once started in Central Asia, would be content to stop. In December 1879 a Russian force had been disastrously defeated by the Tekke Turkomans at Geoktepe, and to avenge this defeat, which had damaged Russia's military and political reputation among the tribes, an expedition against them was in fact unavoidable. Lord Dufferin believed, as he wrote to Lord Granville, that the Russians wished to do no more than was necessary for the vindication of their military honour; but the ministers themselves confessed that Skobeleff, when once let loose on the Turkomans, would be apt to take the bit between his teeth. Nor were their apprehensions unfounded. In January 1881 came news that the Turkoman stronghold had been stormed by Skobeleff, with great and indiscriminate slaughter of the tribesmen.

To Lord Granville he writes—

"*February* 2, 1881.—The great subject of interest this week has been the capture of Geok Tepe. Skobeleff deserves as much credit for the diplomatic manner in which he has allowed the St. Petersburg world to become conversant with the incidents of the drama as for the achievement itself. First of all, for two or three days before the assault telegrams were despatched insisting on the difficulties of the situation, and conveying what almost amounted to a cry of distress. As a consequence every one here was thrown into a state of anxiety and suspense. Then came the announcement in laconic terms of the fall of the Turcoman stronghold after nine hours' fighting, and an enormous loss on both sides. In the revulsion of triumph and gratitude the successful

Commander is congratulated, decorated, and promoted; a Te Deum is sung, a salute of a hundred guns is fired from the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, and flags are displayed at every window. Three or four days later the news oozes out that during the nine hours' fighting only fifty Russian soldiers and two or three officers were killed; and that the chief factor in the discomfiture of the Tekkes was the explosion of a mine.

"Though the Russian loss was slight, the slaughter amongst the Turcomans must have been fearful. Milutine himself told me that four thousand dead bodies were counted within the enceinte of the fort alone, exclusive of those who had fallen in the various sorties and had been cut up in the pursuit."

Although the Russian Foreign Office again declared that an advance upon Merv had been absolutely prohibited, the rapid subsequent extension eastward of the Russian dominion soon made the annexation of the Merv oasis no more than a question of time and opportunity. Some fair excuse, moreover, for pushing forward was found by the Russian Cabinet in the advanced position held at that moment by the English troops in Afghanistan. Each rival Power was insisting that the other must keep at a distance, yet every movement and counter-movement lessened the space between them. Lord Dufferin was busily engaged in endeavouring to promote a settlement of this complicated situation in Central Asia, when he received notice of his transfer to Constantinople. He told Lord Granville that he should hold himself ready to leave at any time, and that he should prefer to do so at once, as there was just then a lull in affairs at St. Petersburg.

"I find it terribly tantalizing being so far from home, when so much that is specially interesting to

me as an Irishman is going on in Parliament. Moreover, I have not been in London during the season for nine years, and I should now see all my friends."

Two days later this quiet surface was rent asunder by an earthquake.

Lord Dufferin had just returned to the embassy, after meeting and speaking with the emperor Alexander at a military parade.

"He was in very good spirits, and spoke to me a little longer than usual, talking about the Duchess of Edinburgh. After the parade I took off my uniform and was reading the newspaper, when all of a sudden I heard a violent report like that of a cannon. It immediately flashed across my mind that it might be a new *attentat*, and not long after they came running to tell me that a bomb had been exploded under the emperor's carriage, and that he had been wounded in the leg. I rushed off to the palace, arriving at the same time as the doctor and the priest. On going upstairs the Grand Duke Vladimir came out and told me that there was no hope."

From the account of the catastrophe that Lord Dufferin sent to the Foreign Office, it appears that the emperor was passing toward his palace through a street where two or three men were shovelling the snow, and others were standing by. He was in a close carriage—

"surrounded by his usual escort of eight or nine Cossacks, with a Police officer closely following him in a sleigh behind. Suddenly a bomb was thrown underneath the carriage, shattering it a good deal but not hurting the emperor. The coachman said he would be able to drive the emperor home, but his Majesty got out, perhaps in his concern for those of his escort who had been wounded. He was seen

to cross himself, but immediately afterwards a second bomb was thrown which exploded at his feet, and not only shattered both legs, but wounded him in the lower part of the body. His Majesty was lifted into the sleigh of the officer following his carriage, and was thus conveyed to the palace apparently in a state of unconsciousness. Lord Dufferin reached the palace a very few minutes afterwards, arriving at the same time as a clergyman and the doctor."

Other particulars are added in a subsequent letter. To Lord Granville, March 15, 1881—

"It was on his [the Emperor's] return home from this parade after having lunched with the Grand Duchess Catherine, that an attack was made upon him. If he had not got out of the carriage he would certainly have been saved, but he imagined all danger was over, and that the explosion had failed. He had been slightly wounded in the face, and was a good deal shaken by the first bomb, for on getting out of the carriage he leant on the arm of a Cossack, and asked him for his handkerchief to wipe the blood which was running down his cheek. The Cossack replied that his handkerchief was too dirty, but the Emperor said 'Never mind'; and in a second afterwards the other bomb exploded, the Cossack was killed on the spot, and the Emperor was mortally wounded."

In the general panic that prevailed for some days, a rumour that the cathedral would be blown up at the celebration of the emperor's funeral obsequies was widely credited. It was of course filled by all the official dignitaries and the foreign representatives: the ceremony lasted four hours, and Lord Dufferin, who was present, wrote that "the Nihilists might have cleared the European chess-board with a vengeance."

The Prince and Princess of Wales made the journey

from England to be present at the funeral, and to invest the emperor, Alexander III., on his accession, with the Order of the Garter. The investment, Lord Dufferin wrote, was "really a very striking ceremony. Though the company was small it was composed of very distinguished personages, and the quaint and novel features of the ceremony were an agreeable change from the gloomy pre-occupations and funeral services of the last fortnight."

To another correspondent he writes—

April 6, 1881.—"For the past fortnight I have been terribly busy. In the first place Greek affairs took up a good deal of my time, and then I had to look after the Prince and Princess of Wales. Their visit has gone off very well, and has been a great comfort to these poor people. The Princess returns to-morrow. I was all in favour of the Prince coming, and of bringing his wife too. I knew that the risk, though not absolutely nil (for no one can calculate upon what these fanatics will do), was almost inappreciable, and considering what near relations our Royalties now are to those in Russia, and the fact that all the other Princes of Europe were flocking to St. Petersburg, it would have looked very ill if a brother-in-law and sister had been deterred from coming by the fear of any personal risk. Consequently I telegraphed to the Queen in that sense, in spite of the responsibility. Her Majesty telegraphed back that she would hold me personally liable for any harm that might happen to either of them, which under the circumstances was not a very pleasant message.

"To-morrow we are to be received by the emperor. The town is full of stories of bombs, and mines, and explosions, and conspiracies to blow up everybody. The other day it was reported that a dog was heard howling on some small tenement near the great powder magazine. On breaking open the

door they found the house destitute of any human inhabitant. They cut the string by which the dog was tied, and the animal at once ran off. But on further examination it was observed that the other end of the string led down through the floor. This excited suspicion, and on following the clue it was found to be attached to a detonating apparatus, the calculation being that the straining of the dog at his collar would pull the trigger. It appears, however, that instead of contending with fate, the dog contented himself with howling, and so half St. Petersburg has been spared."

One of the prominent Russian statesmen, conversing ten days later with Lord Dufferin, said—

"That the present state of things was the logical consequence of the antecedent events of the last twenty years, that reforms were good, but that they had been hurried on so precipitately as to derange the social fabric. When the emperor went to war it became necessary to set on foot a Panslavist propagandism, and it was in the bosom of the morbid excitement thus artificially engendered that the Nihilistic conspiracy was born and nourished."

The new emperor, confined to his palace by police exigencies, and finding life at his capital intolerable, left suddenly and very privately for Gatschina. But "on driving out of the palace gates one of his carriage wheels stuck, and it was immediately supposed to be a Nihilistic device. The coachman was ordered to drive on at full speed notwithstanding the motionless wheel."

"I looked in" (Lord Dufferin writes) "at the trial of the Nihilists. One of the men was very distinguished looking, with a countenance of a high type. The others were merely moujiks, one woman a disreputable looking Jewess, and Peroffsky, the lady, a bosomless, sexless creature of the true Nihilistic type

with a huge forehead, small intelligent eyes, and a hideous face."

From this atmosphere of terror and conspiracies, where the ground on which men were treading seemed to them volcanic—a treacherous crust overlying the fire beneath — Lord Dufferin was liberated by his recall to England, upon his transfer to the embassy at Constantinople. There was a grand *déjeuner* at the embassy in honour of the Prince and Princess of Wales; and on April 15 Lord and Lady Dufferin left the capital for London. In passing through Berlin Lord Dufferin spent an hour with Prince Bismarck, and in conversing with him observed that one of his first duties on reaching Constantinople would be to deal with the Armenian question.

"'Was that a subject,' I asked, 'that would engage his sympathies?' He gave me to understand that it was one in regard to which Germany would feel no very great concern."

They dined with the emperor and empress of Germany, departed next morning, halted at Frankfort and Darmstadt, reached London on a fine April morning, and "went to the play in the evening."

In England they were cordially welcomed by innumerable friends, and found their days and nights fully occupied. Four days after their arrival Lord Dufferin attended Lord Beaconsfield's funeral at Hughenden; and thenceforward his journal records many dinners and other social gatherings. Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff notes in his Diary for May 1881, a meeting of the Breakfast Club at Lansdowne House.

"Dufferin, who is on his way through from Petersburg to Constantinople, surpasses himself, though his stories were perhaps just a shade too festive to write solemnly down here."

Other entries are of interviews with official magnates and other persons of note, consultations at the Foreign Office, visits to the Queen at Windsor, to Lord Granville at Walmer, to the Duke of Somerset at Bulstrode. Between one appointment and the next, between long journeys from one continent or far country to another, Lord Dufferin's intervals of breathing time at home were short enough—less than four months between the Canadian Governor Generalship and the Russian embassy, about six weeks between St. Petersburg and Constantinople. On June 4, after taking leave of the Prince and Princess of Wales, he left London with Lady Dufferin in the evening for Paris on their way to the Bosphorus.

APPENDIX.

Some recollections of service with Lord Dufferin at the St. Petersburg Embassy, which have been kindly communicated by Mr. R. J. Kennedy, are subjoined.

"LORD DUFFERIN, fresh from the scenes of his great administrative and social successes in Canada, threw himself into the performance of his Russian task with all his characteristic energy and optimistic brightness. The Embassy House, on the Quai Anglais, was newly decorated and refurnished, and the establishment and stable were *montés* in a manner worthy of the British Ambassador at the Court of the Czar. The Office of Works, under pressure from Lord Dufferin, spent considerable sums in carrying out His Excellency's ideas; but when money supplies fell short, the Ambassador never hesitated to guarantee or to promise the funds himself. Before the end of the St. Petersburg season 1879–80, his Embassy was declared to be not 'une ambassade, mais une Cour.' The members of it were given to understand that if their duties in the Chancery were light, their social duties were numerous and important. Lord Dufferin once said in my hearing, in his own inimitably caressing manner: 'Before my arrival the young men of the Embassy were scarcely ever seen in a Russian drawing-room, but now there is scarcely a lady in society whose reputation is safe!'

"Although Lord Dufferin was appointed to St. Petersburg in the early summer of 1879 he did not permanently take up his residence in the Russian capital until the beginning of the winter season. His first official reception took place on December 30, 1879; it had been postponed, if my recollection is correct, on account of the precarious health of the Empress, who was very ill in the south of France, whence she came back to St. Petersburg only a few weeks before her death.

"In a private letter written home on December 31 I find the following passage: 'Last night was the official reception at the Embassy. Every one was in uniform; Lord Dufferin wore the scarlet swallow-tailed tunic and epaulettes of Lieutenant of County Down, the Riband and Star of St. Patrick, and the Star of G.C.M.G. Lady Dufferin wore some splendid diamonds. To this reception four hundred and fifty people came, the cream of St. Petersburg society. The passage of guests lasted about two hours; both Lord and Lady Dufferin maintained their freshness and urbanity to the very end. Afterwards all the guests sat down to a splendid supper, at a number of small round tables in the dining-room, and then separated about 1 p.m. The reception was well-organized, and was a great success.

"'I must not forget to say that the sideboard in the dining-room was covered with handsome plate, but what excited most attention and curiosity was a display of gold spurs and gold roses. I asked Lord Dufferin about them in order to satisfy the curiosity of many inquiries; and he told me that soon after he came of age he made over to Gawen Hamilton certain rights which he (Lord Dufferin) possessed over some lands, and the Castle at Killyleagh, amongst others the right of closing the main entrance against the owner of the Castle. In return for this concession the owner of Killyleagh is bound to hand every year to the "Lady of Clandeboye" a gold rose or a gold spur. The Russians were much interested in this almost feudal arrangement.'"

"During the tenure of his office as Ambassador at St. Petersburg Lord and Lady Dufferin put themselves *en quatre*, as the French say, in order to cultivate the best relations with the best Russian society; and in their efforts in this direction, which involved an endless round of afternoon visits, on an average half a dozen every afternoon, to say nothing of small and great evening receptions, balls, and attendances at gala and other representations at the Opera, the Theatre Français, and other places of public amusement, they were assiduously backed up by the staff of the Embassy. Skating and ice-hilling, in which Lord and Lady Dufferin's Canadian experience stood them in good stead, bear-shooting expeditions, in which several bears fell to Lord Dufferin's gun, and a round of dinners and balls at the Embassy, kept up the reputation of the British Embassy as the chief centre of social attraction during the winter of 1879–80. Three years after Lord Dufferin left St. Petersburg a Russian

lady in a letter to me mentioned the departure of one of the secretaries of the British Embassy, adding that 'C'est le dernier membre qui nous restait de cette brillante ambassade à laquelle vous étiez autrefois attaché.'

"In a letter written during that summer I said: 'Lord Dufferin talks of getting up a covered-in racquet or tennis court for the winter: it certainly would be a great boon. He enjoyed a week's visit to my little country house at Ligovo, and said he had never been so happy in all his life! He used to paint and sketch all day in the garden, and in the evening we used to ride, sometimes going to dinner at houses five or six miles off, and returning at 11.30 or midnight, when it was still broad daylight! He was full of interesting conversation and information, and the last evening he spent with me he remarked: "We shall remember these long Russian days in future years, when you and I are sitting by the fireside at Clandeboye wrapped in flannel."

"'Last Saturday we all attended at the Church of the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul to witness the translation of the body of the Emperor. The Emperor was dressed in a white uniform, that of the "Chevaliers Gardes." Around him were all the crowns of departed Emperors, including the magnificent crown of Russia, of the value of £80,000, and the sceptre with the great Orloff diamond, valued at £250,000, whilst each on a separate cushion of cloth of gold were his seventy-five orders and decorations.'

"Lord Dufferin left St. Petersburg with Lady Dufferin about April 15, 1881, for London, *en route* for Constantinople, and the railway station was crowded with the leading members of Russian society, of the *corps diplomatique*, and of the English colony, to bid God-speed to the departing ambassador and ambassadress. The railway compartment reserved for them was filled with choice presentation bouquets, the one presented by a deputation from the Chevaliers Gardes regiment, the smartest regiment in the Russian army, being undoubtedly the choicest.

"Thus ended Lord Dufferin's short but brilliant mission to Russia, where he left many friends who still preserve an affectionate recollection of his untiring and successful efforts to remove all traces of ill feeling and soreness against England. But though Lord Dufferin, I believe, carried away many pleasant memories of his St. Petersburg days, it would be idle to pretend that he regretted exchanging the banks of the Neva for the shores of the Bosphorus. The ordinary routine of diplomatic life was

uncongenial to one whose great and varied talent lay chiefly in the administrative line, who required hard and constant work as an outlet for his unbounded energy, and whose two years at St. Petersburg may be looked upon merely as a pleasant and brilliant interlude in his great career."

END OF VOLUME I.

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